Miſcellanea.

THE SECOND PART.

In Four

ESSAYS.

I. *Upon Ancient and Modern Learning.*
II. *Upon the Gardens of* Epicurus.
III. *Upon Heroick Virtue.*
IV. *Upon Poetry.*

BY

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*
BARONET.

——— *Juvat antiquos accedere Fontes.*

The Third Edition,
Corrected and Augmented by the Author.

LONDON:
Printed for *Ri. Simpſon*, at the *Three Trouts*, and *Ra. Simpſon* at the *Harp* in St. *Paul's-Church-Yard*, 1692.

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The Printer to the Reader.

THE *First Edition of these Essays having been Published without the Author's taking any further notice of them, than giving his Consent to a Friend who desired it: Several Omissions and some Mistakes were observed by him in the First and Second Editions. Whereupon He has been since prevailed with, both to Review this Third Edition, and Augment it with several large Periods, which lying in loose Papers, and at another Place than where the First Copy was Transcribed, came to be Omitted in the Two former Editions,* viz.

In the Second Essay, one concerning the Fruits of the East *and* West: *Another concerning Rules to Gardeners.*

And in the Third Essay, one Period concerning the Original of the Word Barons: *Another about the Original of* Duels. *And a Sixth Section in the same Essay, concerning* Conquests.

MISCELLANEA.

An Eſſay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning.

WHoever Converſes much among the Old Books, will be ſomething hard to pleaſe among the New; yet theſe muſt have their Part too in the leiſure of an idle man, and have many of them, their Beauties as well as their Defaults. Thoſe of Story, or Relations of Matter of Fact, have a value from their Subſtance, as much as from their Form, and the variety of Events, is ſeldom without Entertainment or Inſtruction, how indifferently ſoever the Tale is told. Other ſorts of Writings have little of eſteem, but what they receive from the Wit, Learning, or Genius of the Authors, and are ſeldom met with of any excellency,

becauſe they do but trace over the Paths that have been beaten by the Ancients, or Comment, Critick and Flouriſh upon them; and are at beſt but Copies after thoſe Originals, unleſs upon Subjects never touched by them; ſuch as are all that relate to the different Conſtitutions of Religions, Laws, or Governments in ſeveral Countries, with all matters of Controverſie that ariſe upon them.

Two Pieces that have lately pleaſed me (abſtracted from any of theſe Subjects) are, one in *Engliſh* upon the *Antideluvian* World; and another in *French*, upon the *Plurality of Worlds*; one Writ by a Divine, and the other by a Gentleman, but both very finely in their ſeveral Kinds, and upon their ſeveral Subjects, which would have made very poor work in common hands: I was ſo pleaſed with the laſt (I mean the Faſhion of it, rather than the Matter, which is old and beaten) that I enquired for what elſe I could of the ſame hand, till I met with a ſmall Piece concerning Poeſy, which gave me the ſame exception to both theſe Authors, whom I ſhould otherwiſe have been very partial to. For the firſt, could not end his

Learned

Learned Treatiſe, without a Panegyrick of Modern Learning, and Knowledge, in compariſon of the Ancient: And the other falls ſo groſly into the cenſure of the Old Poetry, and preference of the New, that I could not read either of theſe Strains, without ſome indignation, which no quality among men is ſo apt to raiſe in me as ſufficiency, the worſt compoſition out of the pride and ignorance of mankind. But theſe Two, being not the only Perſons of the Age that defend theſe Opinions, it may be worth examining, how far either Reaſon or Experience can be allowed to plead or determin in their favour.

The Force of all that I have met with upon this Subject, either in Talk or Writing, is, Firſt, as to Knowledge, That we muſt have more than the Ancients, becauſe we have the Advantage both of theirs and our own, which is commonly illuſtrated by the Similitude of a Dwarfs ſtanding upon a Gyants ſhoulders, and ſeeing more or farther than he. Next, as to Wit or Genius, that Nature being ſtill the ſame, theſe muſt be much at a Rate in all Ages, at leaſt in the ſame Clymates, as the

Growth and Size of Plants and Animals commonly are; And if both theſe are allowed, they think the Cauſe is gained. But I cannot tell why we ſh ould conclude, that the Ancient Writers had not as much Advantage from th: Knowledge of others, that were Ancient to them, as we we have from thoſe that are Ancient to us. The Invention of Printing, has not perhaps, multiplied Books, but only the Copies of them; and if we believe there were Six Hundred Thouſand in the Library of *Ptolomy*, we ſhall hardly pretend to equal it by any of ours, nor perhaps, by all put together; I mean ſo many Originals, that have lived any time, and thereby given Teſtimony of their having been thought worth preſerving. For the Scribblers are infinite, that like Muſhrooms or Flys, are born and dye in ſmall circles of time; whereas Books like Proverbs, receive their Chief Value from the Stamp and Eſteem of Ages through which they have paſſed. Beſides, the account of this Library at *Alexandria*, and others very Voluminous in the leſſer *Aſia* and *Rome*, we have frequent mention of Ancient Writers in many of thoſe Books which we

we now call Ancient, both Philoſophers and Hiſtorians. 'Tis true, that beſides what we have in Scripture concerning the Original and Progreſs of the *Jewiſh* Nation; all that paſſed in the reſt of our World before the *Trojan* War, is either ſunk in the depths of time, wrapt up in the myſteries of Fables, or ſo maimed by the want of Teſtimonies and loſs of Authors, that it appears to us in too obſcure a ſhade, to make any Judgment upon it. For the Fragments of *Manethon* about the Antiquities of *Egypt*, the Relations in *Juſtin* concerning the *Scythian* Empire, and many others in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, as well as the Records of *China*, make ſuch Excurſions beyond the periods of time given us by the Holy Scriptures, that we are not allowed to reaſon upon them. And this diſagreement it ſelf after ſo great a part of the World became Chriſtian, may have contributed to the loſs of many Ancient Authors. For *Solomon* tells us even in his time, of Writing many Books there was no end; and whoever conſiders the Subject and the Stile of *Job*, which by many is thought more ancient than *Moſes*, will hardly

think it was Written in an Age or Country that wanted either Books or Learning; and yet he ſpeaks of the Ancients then and their Wiſdome as we do now.

But if any ſhould ſo very raſhly and preſumptuouſly conclude, That there were few Books before thoſe we have either Extant or upon Record; yet that cannot argue there was no Knowledge or Learning before thoſe periods of time, whereof they give us the ſhort account. Books may be helps to Learning and Knowledge, and make it more common and diffuſed; but I doubt, whether they are neceſſary ones or no, or much advance any other Science, beyond the particular Records of Actions or Regiſters of time; and theſe perhaps might be as long preſerved without them, by the care and exactneſs of Tradition in the long Succeſſions of certain Races of men, with whom they were intruſted. So in *Mexico* and *Peru*, before the leaſt uſe or mention of Letters, there was remaining among them, the knowledge of what had paſſed in thoſe mighty Nations and Governments for many Ages. Whereas in *Ireland*, that is ſaid to have flouriſhed in Books

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and Learning before they had much Progreſs in *Gaul* or *Britany*; there are now hardly any Traces left of what paſſed there, before the Conqueſt made of that Country by the *Engliſh* in *Henry* the Second's Time. A ſtrange but plain Demonſtration, how Knowledge and Ignorance, as well as Civility and Barbariſm, may ſucceed each other in the ſeveral Countries of the World, how much better the Records of time may be kept by Tradition in one Country than Writing in another; and how much we owe to thoſe Learned Languages of *Greek* and *Latin*, without which, for ought I know, the World in all theſe *Weſtern* Parts, would hardly be known to have been above five or ſix Hundred Years old, nor any certainty remain of what paſſed in it before that time.

'Tis true, in the *Eaſtern* Regions, there ſeems to have been a general Cuſtom of the Prieſts in each Country; having been either by their own Choice, or by Deſign of the Governments, the perpetual Conſervers of Knowledge and Story. Only in *China*, this laſt was committed particularly to certain Officers of State, who were appointed or

continued upon every acceſſion to that Crown, to Regiſter diſtinctly the times and memorable Events of each Reign. In *Ethiopia*, *Egypt*, *Caldea*, *Perſia*, *Syria*, *Judea*, theſe Cares were committed wholly to the Prieſts, who were not leſs diligent in the Regiſters of Times and Actions, than in the Study and Succeſſive Propagation thereby of all Natural *Science* and *Philoſophy*. Whether this was managed by Letters, or Tradition, or by both; 'tis certain the Ancient Colledges, or Societies of Prieſts, were mighty Reſervoirs or Lakes of Knowledge, into which, ſome ſtreams entred perhaps every Age, from the Obſervations or Inventions of any great Spirits or tranſcendent Genius's, that happened to riſe among them: And nothing was loſt out of theſe Stores, ſince the part of conſerving what others have gained, either in Knowledge or Empire, is as common and eaſy, as the other is hard and rare among men.

In theſe Soyls were planted and cultivated thoſe mighty growths of *Aſtronomy*, *Aſtrology*, *Magick*, *Geometry*, Natural *Philoſophy*, and Ancient *Story*. From theſe Sources, *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Lycurgus*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and others

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of the Ancients, are acknowledged to have drawn all those Depths of Knowledge or Learning, which have made them so Renowned in all succeeding Ages. I make a Distinction between these Two, taking Knowledge to be properly meant of things that are generally agreed to be true by Consent of those that first found them out, or have been since instructed in them; but Learning is the Knowledge of the different and contested Opinions of men in former Ages, and about which they have perhaps never agreed in any; and this makes so much of one, and so little of the other in the World.

Now to judge, Whether the Ancients or Moderns, can be probably thought to have made the greatest Progress in the Search and Discoveries of the vast Region of Truth and Nature; it will be worth inquiring, What Guides have been used, and what Labours imploy'd by the one and the other in these Noble Travels and Pursuits.

The Modern Scholars have their usual Recourse to the Universities of their Countries; some few it may be to those of their Neighbours; and this, in quest

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of Books rather than Men for their Guides, though these are living, and those in comparison, but dead Instructors; which like a Hand with an Inscription, can point out the straight way upon the Road, but can neither tell you the next Turnings, resolve your Doubts, or answer your Questions, like a Guide that has traced it over, and perhaps knows it as well as his Chamber. And who are these dead Guides we seek in our Journey? They are at best but some few Authors that remain among us, of a great many that wrote in Greek and Latine, from the Age of *Hypocrates* to that of *Marcus Antoninus*, which reaches not much above Six Hundred Years. Before that time I know none, besides some Poets, some Fables, and some few Epistles; and since that time, I know very few that can pretend to be Authors, rather than Transcribers or Commentators of the Ancient Learning: Now to consider at what Sources our Ancients drew their Water, and with what unwearied Pains: 'Tis evident, *Thales* and *Pythagoras* were the Two Founders of the *Grecian* Philosophy; the First, gave Beginning to the *Ionick* Sect,

Sect, and the other to the *Italick*; out of which, all the others celebrated in *Greece* or *Rome* were derived or composed: *Thales* was the First of the *Sophi*, or Wise men, Famous in *Greece*; and is said to have learned his *Astronomy*, *Geometry*, *Astrology*, *Theology*, in his Travels from his Country *Miletus*, to *Ægypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Crete*, and *Delphos*: *Pythagoras* was the Father of Philosophers, and of the Vertues, having in Modesty, chosen the Name of a Lover of Wisdom rather than of Wise; and having first introduced the Names of the Four Cardinal Vertues, and given them the Place and Rank they have held ever since in the World: Of these Two Mighty men remain no Writings at all; for those Golden Verses, that go under the Name of *Pythagoras*, are generally rejected as spurious, like many other Fragments of *Sybils* or Old Poets, and some entire Poems that run with Ancient Names; Nor is it agreed, Whether he ever left any thing written to his Scholars or Contemporaries; or whether all that learn't of him, did it not by the Ear and Memory; and all that remained of him, for some succeeding Ages, were not by Tradition.

But

But whether these ever writ or no, they were the Fountains, out of which the following *Greek* Poilosophers drew all those Streams that have since watered the Studies of the Learned World, and furnished the Voluminous Writings of so many Sects, as passed afterwards under the common Name of Philosophers.

As there were Guides to those that we call Ancients, so there were others that were Guides to them, in whose Search they travelled far and laboured long.

There is nothing more agreed, than, That all the Learning of the *Greeks* was deduced Originally, from *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*; but, Whether theirs might not have flourished to that Degree it did, by the Commerce of the *Ethiopians*, *Chaldæans*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*, is not so evident, (though I am very apt to believe it) and to most of these Regions some of the *Grecians* travelled, in Search of those Golden Mines of Learning and Knowledge: Not to mention the Voyages of *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Lycurgus*, *Thales*, *Solon*, *Democritus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and that vain Sophist, *Apollonius*, (who was

was but an Ape of the Ancient Philosophers) I shall only trace, those of *Pythagoras*, who seems, of all others, to have gone the farthest upon this Design, and to have brought home the greatest Treasures. He went first to *Egypt*, where he spent Two and Twenty Years in Study and Conversation, among the several Colledges of Priests, in *Memphis*, *Thebes* and *Heliopolis*, was initiated in all their several Mysteries, in order to gain Admittance and Instruction, in the Learning and Sciences that were there, in their higheſt Ascendent. Twelve Years he spent in *Babylon*, and in the Studies and Learning of the Priests or *Magi* of the *Chaldæans*. Besides, these long abodes, in those Two Regions, celebrated for ancient Learning, and where one Author, according to their Calculations, says, He gained the Observations of innumerable Ages, He Travelled likewise upon the same sent, into *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, *India*, to *Crete*, to *Delphos*, and to all the Oracles, that were Renowned in any of these Regions.

What sort of Mortals, some of those may have been, that he went so far to seek, I shall only endeavour to Trace out, by the most ancient Accounts, that are

are given of the *Indian Brachmans*, since those of the Learned or Sages in the other Countries, occur more frequent in Story. These, were all of one Race or Tribe, that was kept chaft, from any other mixture, and were dedicated wholly, to the Service of the Gods, to the Studies of Wisdom and Nature, and to the Council of their Princes. There was not only, particular care taken of their Birth and Nurture, but even from their Conception. For when a Woman among them, was known to have Conceived, much thought and diligence was imployed about her Diet and Entertainments, so far, as to furnish her with pleasant imaginations, to compose her mind and her sleeps, with the best temper, during the time she carried her Burthen: This, I take to be a strain, beyond all the *Gretian* Wit, or the Constitutions even of their imaginary Law-givers, who began their cares of Mankind, only after their Birth, and none before. Those of the *Brachmans*, continued in the same Degree for their Education and Instruction, in which, and their Studies, and Discipline of their Colledges, or separate abodes in Woods and Fields, they spent Thirty Seven Years. Their Learning

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and Inſtitutions, were unwritten, and only traditional among themſelves, by a perpetual Succeſſion. Their Opinions in Natural Philoſophy, were, That the World was round, That it had a beginning, and would have an end, but reckoned both, by immenſe periods of time; That the Author of it, was a Spirit, or a Mind, that pervaded the whole Univerſe, and was diffuſed, through all the Parts of it. They held the Tranſmigration of Souls, and ſome uſed diſcourſes of Infernal Manſions, in many things, like thoſe of *Plato*. Their Moral Philoſophy, conſiſted chiefly, in preventing all Diſeaſes or Diſtempers of the Body, from which, they eſteemed the perturbation of mind, in a great meaſure to ariſe. Then, in compoſing the Mind, and exempting it from all anxious Cares, eſteeming the troubleſome and ſollicitous thoughts, about Paſt and Future, to be like ſo many Dreams, and no more to be regarded: They deſpiſed both life and death, pleaſure and pain, or at leaſt thought them perfectly indifferent. Their Juſtice, was exact and exemplary, their Temperance ſo great, that they lived upon Rice or Herbs,

Herbs, and upon nothing, that had sensitive Life. If they fell sick, they counted it such a Mark of Intemperance, that they would frequently dye, out of Shame and Sullenness, but many lived a Hundred and Fifty, and some Two Hundred Years.

Their Wisdom, was so highly esteemed, that some of them were always imployed to follow the Courts of their Kings to advise them upon all Occasions, and instruct them in Justice and Piety, and upon this Regard, *Calanus* and some others, are said to have followed the Camp of *Alexander*, after his Conquest of one of their Kings. The Magical Operations, reported of them, are so wonderful, that they must either be wholly disbelieved, or will make easie way, for the credit of all those, that we so often meet with, in the later Relations of the *Indies*. Above all the rest, their Fortitude was most admirable, in their Patience and Endurance of all Evils, of Pain, and of Death; some standing, sitting, lying, without any Motion, whole dayes together, in the scorching Sun; others standing whole nights upon one Leg, and holding up a heavy piece of Wood

or

or Stone in both hands, without ever moving, (which might be done, upon some sort of Penances usual among them.) They frequently ended their Lives, by their own Choice, and not necessity, and most usually by Fire; some upon Sickness, others upon Misfortunes, some upon meer satiety of Life; so *Calanus*, in *Alexander*'s time, burn't himself publickly, upon growing old and infirm; *Zormanochages*, in the time of *Augustus*, upon his constant Health and Felicity, and to prevent his living so long, as to fall into Diseases or Misfortunes. These were the *Brachmans* of *India*, by the most Ancient Relations remaining of them, and which Compared with our Modern, (since Navigation and Trade have discovered so much of those vast Countries) make it easie to conjecture, that the present *Baniams* have derived from them many of their Customs and Opinions, which are still very like them, after the Course of Two Thousand Years. For how long, Nations, without the Changes, introduced by Conquest, may continue in the same Customs, Institutions, and Opinions, will be easily observed, in the Stories of the

Peruvians, and *Mexicans*, of the *Chineſes* and *Scythians*: Theſe laſt, being deſcribed by *Herodotus*, to lodge always in Carts, and to feed commonly upon the Milk of Mares, as the *Tartars* are reported to do at this time, in many parts of thoſe Vaſt *Northern* Regions.

From theſe famous *Indians*, it ſeems to me moſt probable, that *Pythagoras* learn't, and tranſported into *Greece* and *Italy*, the greateſt part of his Natural and Moral Philoſophy, rather than from the *Ægyptians*, as is commonly ſuppoſed: For I have not obſerved, any mention of the Tranſmigration of Souls, held among the *Ægyptians*, more ancient than the time of *Pythagoras*: On the contrary, *Orpheus* is ſaid to have brought out of *Egypt*, all his Myſtical Theology, with the Stories of the *Stygian* Lake, *Charon*, the Infernal Judges, which were wrought up, by the ſucceeding Poets (with a Mixture of the *Cretan* Tales, or Traditions) into that part of the *Pagan* Religion, ſo long obſerved by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Now 'tis obvious, that this was in all parts very different from the *Pythagorean* Opinion of Tranſmigration,

migration, which, though it was preſerved long, among ſome of the ſucceeding Philoſophers, yet never entered into the vulgar Belief of *Greece* or *Italy*.

Nor does it ſeem unlikely, that the *Ægyptians* themſelves might have drawn much of their Learning from the *Indians*, for they are obſerved, in ſome Authors, to have done it from the *Æthiopians*; and Chronologers I think agree, that theſe were a Colony, that came anciently from the River *Indus*, and planted themſelves upon that part of *Africa*, which from their Name, was afterward called, *Æthiopia*, and in probability, brought their Learning and their Cuſtoms with them. The *Phœnicians*, are likewiſe ſaid to have been anciently a Colony that came from the *Red Sea*, and planted themſelves upon the *Mediterranean*, and from thence ſpread ſo far the Fame of their Learning, and their Navigations.

To ſtrengthen this Conjecture, of much Learning being derived from ſuch remote and ancient Fountains as the *Indies*, and perhaps *China*; it may be aſſerted with great Evidence, that

though we know little of the Antiquities of *India*, beyond *Alexander*'s time; yet those of *China* are the oldest that any where pretend to any fair Records: For these are agreed, by the Missionary Jesuits, to extend so far above Four Thousand Years; and with such Appearance of clear and undeniable Testmonies, that those Religious Men themselves, rather than question their Truth, by finding them contrary to the vulgar Chronology of the Scripture, are content to have recourse to that of the *Septuagint*, and thereby, to salve the Appearances, in those Records of the *Chinese*. Now though we have been deprived the knowledge, of what Course, Learning may have held, and to what heights it may have soared, in that vast Region, and during so great Antiquity of time, by reason of the Savage Ambition of one of their Kings, who desirous to begin the Period of History, from his own Reign, ordered all Books to be burnt, except those of Physick and Agriculture; so that, what we have remaining besides, of that wise and ancient Nation, is but what was either by chance, or by private Industry, rescued

cued out of that publick Calamity, (among which, were a Copy of the Records and Succeſſions of the Crown); yet it is obſervable and agreed, that as the Opinions of the Learned among them are at preſent, ſo they were anciently, divided into two Sects, whereof one held, the Tranſmigration of Souls, and the other, the Eternity of Matter, comparing the World to a great Maſs of Metal, out of which, ſome Parts are continually made up into a Thouſand various Figures, and after certain Periods, melted down again into the ſame Maſs. That there were many Volumes, written of old in Natural Philoſophy among them: That neat the Age of *Socrates*, lived their Gteat and Renowned *Confutius*, who began the ſame Deſign, of reclaiming men from the uſeleſs and endleſs Speculations of Nature, to thoſe of Morality. But with this Difference, that the Bent of the *Grecian*, ſeemed to be chiefly, upon the Happineſs of private Men or Families; but that of the *Chineſe*, upon the good Temperament and Felicity of ſuch Kingdoms or Governments, as that was, and is known to have continued for ſeveral

Thousands of Years, and may be properly called, a Government of Learned men, since no other are admitted into Charges of the State.

For my own part, I am much inclined to believe, that in these Remote Regions, not only *Pythagoras* learn't the first Principles, both of his Natural and Moral Philosophy; but that those of *Democritus*, (who Travelled into *Ægypt*, *Caldea*, and *India*, and whose Doctrines were after improved by *Epicurus*) might have been derived from the same Fountains, and that long before them both, *Lycurgus* who likewise Travelled into *India*, brought from thence also, the Chief Principles of his Laws and Politicks, so much Renowned in the World.

For whoever observes the Account already given, of the Ancient *Indian*, and *Chinese* Learning and Opinions, will easily find among them, the Seeds of all these *Grecian* Productions and Institutions; As the Transmigration of Souls, and the four Cardinal Vertues, The long Silence enjoyned his Scholars, and Propagation of their Doctrines by Tradition, rather than Letters, and Abstinence from all Meats, that

that had Animal Life, introduced by *Pythagoras*. The Eternity of Matter, with perpetual changes of Form, the Indolence of Body, and Tranquility of Mind, by *Epicurus*. And among those of *Lycurgus*; the care of Education from the Birth of Children, the *Austere* Temperance of Diet, the patient endurance of Toil and Pain, the neglect or contempt of Life, the use of Gold and Silver only in their Temples, the Defence of Commerce with Strangers, and several others, by him established among the *Spartans*, seem all to be wholly *Indian*, and different from any Race or Vein of Thought and Imagination, that have ever appeared in *Greece*, either in that Age or any since.

It may look like a Paradox, to deduce Learning, from Regions accounted commonly so barbarous and rude. And 'tis true, the generality of People, were always so, in those *Eastern* Countries, and their lives wholly turned to Agriculture, to Mechanicks, or to Trades: but this does not hinder, particular Races or Successions of Men, (the design of whose thought and time, was turned wholly to Learning and Knowledge) from having been, what

they are reepreſented, and what they deſerve to be eſteemed; ſince among the *Gauls*, the *Goths*, and the *Peruvians* themſelves, there have been ſuch Races of men under the Names of *Druids*, *Bards*, *Amautas*, *Runers*, and other barbarous Appellations.

Beſides, I know no Circumſtances, like to Contribute more to the advancement of Knowledge and Learning among men, than exact Temperance in their Races, great pureneſs of Air, and equality of Clymate, long Tranquility of Empire or Government: And all theſe, we may juſtly allow to thoſe *Eaſtern* Regions, more than any others we are acquainted with, at leaſt till the Conqueſts made by the *Tartars*, upon both *India* and *China*, in the later Centuries. However it may be as pardonable, to derive ſome parts of Learning from thence, as to go ſo far, for the Game of *Cheſs*, which ſome Curious and Learned men, have deduced, from *India* into *Europe*, by Two ſeveral Roads, that is, by *Perſia* into *Greece*, and by *Arabia* into *Africk* and *Spain*.

Thus much I thought, might be allowed me to ſay, for the giving ſome Idæa, of what thoſe Sages or Learned Men,

Men, were, or may have been, who were Ancients to thoſe that are Ancients to us. Now to obſerve, what theſe have been, is more eaſy and obvious. The moſt ancient *Grecians*, that we are at all acquainted with, after *Lycurgus*, who was certainly, a great Philoſopher as well as Law-giver, were the ſeven Sages. Tho' the Court of *Cræſus*, is ſaid to have been much reſorted to, by the Sophiſts of *Greece*, in the happy beginnings of his Reign. And ſome of theſe ſeven, ſeem to have brought moſt of the Sciences out of *Ægypt* and *Phœnicia*, into *Greece*, particularly, thoſe of *Aſtronomy*, *Aſtrology*, *Geometry*, and *Arithmetick*. Theſe were ſoon followed, by *Pythagoras*, (who ſeems to have introduced Natural and Moral Philoſophy) and by ſeveral of his followers, both in *Greece* and *Italy*. But of all theſe, there remains nothing in Writing now among us; ſo that *Hyppocrates*, *Plato*, and *Xenophon*, are the firſt *Philoſophers*, whoſe works have eſcaped the injuries of time. But that we may not conclude, the firſt Writers we have of the *Grecians*, were the firſt Learned or Wiſe among them; We ſhall find upon inquiry, that the more

ancient

ancient Sages of *Greece*, appear by the Characters remaining of them, to have been much the greater Men. They were generally, Princes or Law-givers of their Countries, or at leaſt offered and invited to be ſo, either of their own or of others, that deſired them to frame or reform their ſeveral Inſtitutions of Civil Government. They were commonly excellent Poets, and great Phyſicians; they were ſo learned in Natural Philoſophy, that they fore-told, not only Eclypſes in the Heavens, but Earthquakes at Land, and Storms at Sea, great Drowths and great Plagues, much Plenty, or much Scarcity of certain ſorts of Fruits or Grain, not to mention the Magical Powers, attributed to ſeveral of them, to allay Storms, to raiſe Gales, to appeaſe Commotions of People, to make Plagues ceaſe; which qualities, whether upon any ground of Truth or no, yet if well believed, muſt have raiſed them, to that ſtrange height they were at, of common eſteem and honour, in their own and ſucceeding Ages.

By all this may be determined, whether our Moderns or our Ancients, may have had the greater and the better

ter Guides, and which of them have taken the greater pains, and with the more application in the purſuit of Knowledge. And I think, it is enough to ſhew, that the advantage we have, from thoſe we call the Ancients, may not be greater, than what they had, from thoſe that were ſo to them.

But after all, I do not know, whether the high flights of Wit and Knowledge, like thoſe of Power and of Empire in the World, may not have been made by the pure Native Force of Spirit or Genius, in ſome ſingle men, rather than by any derived ſtrength among them, however encreaſed by Succeſſion; and whether they may not have been the Atchievements of Nature, rather than the improvements of Art. Thus the Conqueſts of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, of *Alexander* and *Tamerlane*, which I take to have been the greateſt, Recorded in Story, were at their heighth, in thoſe Perſons that began them, and ſo far from being encreaſed by their Succeſſors, that they were not preſerved in their extent and vigour by any of them; grew weaker in every hand they paſſed through, or were divided into many, that ſet

up

up for great Princes, out of several small ruins of the First Empires, till they withered away in time, or were lost by the change of Names and Forms of Families or of Governments.

Just the same Fate seems to have attended the highest flights of Learning and of Knowledge, that are upon our Registers. *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Epicurus*, were the first mighty Conquerors of Ignorance in our World, and made greater progresses in the several Empires of Science, than any of their Successors have been since able to reach. These have hardly ever pretended more, than to learn what the others taught, to remember what they invented, and not able to compass that it self, they have set up for Authors, upon some parcels of those great Stocks, or else have contented themselves only to comment upon those Texts, and make the best Copies they could, after those Originals.

I have long thought, that the different abilities of Men, which we call Wisdom, or Prudence, for the conduct of Publick Affairs or Private Life, grow directly out of that little grain of Intellect

reflect or Good Sense, which they bring with them into the World; and that the defect of it in Men, comes from some want in their Conception or Birth.

Dixitq; semel Nascentibus Author:
Quicquid scire licet.

And though this may be improved or impaired in some degree, by accidents of Education, of Study, and of Conversation or Business, yet it cannot go beyond the reach of its Native Force, no more than Life can, beyond the period to which it was destined, by the strength or weakness of the seminal Vertue.

If these speculations should be true, then I know not what advantages we can pretend to modern Knowledge, by any we receive from the Ancients; Nay, 'ts possible, men may lose rather than gain by them, may lessen the Force and Growth of their own Genius, by constraining and forming it upon that of others; may have less Knowledge of their own, for contenting themselves with that of those before them. So a Man that only Translates,

shall

ſhall never be a Poet, nor a Painter that only Copies, nor a Swimmer that Swims always with Bladders. So People that truſt wholly to others Charity, and without Induſtry of their own, will be always poor. Beſides, who can tell, whether Learning may not even weaken Invention, in a man that has great Advantages from Nature and Birth; whether the weight and number of ſo many other mens thoughts and notions, may not ſuppreſs his own, or hinder the motion and agitation of them, from which all Invention ariſes; As heaping on Wood, or too many Sticks, or too cloſe together, ſuppreſſes and ſometimes quite extinguiſhes, a little ſpark that would otherwiſe have grown up to a noble Flame. The ſtrength of mind as well as of body, grows more from the warmth of Exercife, than of Cloaths, nay, too much of this Foreign heat, rather makes Men faint, and their Conſtitutions tender or weaker, than they would be without them. Let it come about how it will, if we are Dwarfs, we are ſtill ſo, though we ſtand upon a Gyant's ſhoulders, and even ſo placed, yet we ſee leſs than he, if we are naturally

turally ſhorter ſighted, or if we do not look as much about us, or if we are dazled with the height, which often happens from weakneſs either of Heart or Brain.

In the growth and ſtature of Souls as well as Bodies, the common productions are of indifferent ſizes, that occaſion no gazing nor no wonder; But there are or have been, ſometimes Dwarfs and ſometimes Gyants in the World, yet it does not follow, that there muſt be ſuch in every Age nor in every Country; This we can no more conclude, than that there never have been any, becauſe there are none now, at leaſt in the compaſs of our preſent Knowledge or Inquiry. As I believe, there may have been Gyants at ſome time, and ſome place or other in the World, of ſuch a ſtature, as may not have been equalled perhaps again, in ſeveral Thouſands of Years, or in any other Parts; ſo there may be Gyans in Wit and Knowledge, of ſo over-grown a ſize, as not to be equalled again in many ſucceſſions of Ages, or any compaſs of Place or Country. Such, I am ſure, *Lucretius* eſteems and deſcribes *Epicurus* to have been,

and

and to have risen, like a Prodigy of Invention and Knowledge, such as had not been before, nor was like to be again; and I know not, why others of the Ancients, may not be allowed to have been as great in their kinds, and to have built as high, though upon different Schemes or Foundations. Because there is a Stag's head at *Amboyse*, of a most prodigious size, and a large Table at *Memorancy*, cut out of the thickness of a Vine-stock, is it necessary, that there must be, every Age, such a Stag in every great Forest, or such a Vine in every large Vineyard, or that the Productions of Nature in any kind, must be still alike or something near it, because Nature is still the same? May there not many circumstances concur, to one production, that do not to any other, in one or many Ages? In the growth of a Tree, there is the native strength of the seed both from the kind, and from the perfection of its ripening, and from the health and vigour of the Plant that bore it. There is the degree of strength and excellence, in that Vein of Earth where it first took root; There is a propriety of Soyl, suited to the kind

of

of Tree that grows in it, there is a great favour or dis-favour to its growth, from accidents of Water and of Shelter, from the kindneſs or unkindneſs of Seaſons, till it be paſt the need or the danger of them. All theſe, and perhaps many others, joyned with the propitiouſneſs of Clymat, to that ſort of Tree, and the length of Age it ſhall ſtand and grow, may produce an Oak, a Fig, or a Plane-tree, that ſhall deſerve to be renowned in Story, and ſhall not perhaps be parallel'd, in other Countrys or Times.

May not the ſame have happened in the production, growth, and ſize, of Wit and Genius in the World, or in ſome Parts or Ages of it, and from many more circumſtances that contributed towards it, than what may concur to the ſtupendious growth of a Tree or Animal? May there not have been, in *Greece* or *Italy* of old, ſuch prodigies of Invention and Learning in *Philoſophy*, *Mathematicks*, *Phyſick*, *Oratory*, *Poetry*, that none has ever ſince approached them, as well as there were in *Painting*, *Statuary*, *Architecture*, and yet their unparallel'd and inimitable excellencies in theſe are undiſputed.

Science and Arts, have run their circles, and had their periods in the ſeveral Parts of the World; They are generally agreed, to have held their courſe from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, to have begun in *Chaldæa* and *Ægypt*, to have been Tranſplanted from thence to *Greece*, from *Greece* to *Rome*, to have ſunk there, and after many Ages, to have revived from thoſe Aſhes, and to have ſprung up again, both in *Italy* and other more *Weſtern* Provinces of *Europe*. When *Chaldæa* and *Ægypt* were Learned and Civil, *Greece* and *Rome* were as rude and barbarous as all *Ægypt* and *Syria* now are, and have been long. When *Greece* and *Rome* were at their heights, in Arts and Science, *Gaul*, *Germany*, *Britain*, were as ignorant and barbarous, as any Parts of *Greece* or *Turkey* can be now.

Theſe, and greater changes, are made in the ſeveral Countries of the World, and courſes of time, by the Revolutions of Empire, the Devaſtations of Armies, the Cruelties of Conquering, and the Calamities of enſlaved Nations; by the violent inundations of Water in ſome Countries, and the Cruel Ravages of Plagues in others: Theſe ſorts of accidents,

cidents, ſometimes lay them ſo waſte, that when they riſe again, 'tis from ſuch low beginnings, that they look like New-Created Regions, or growing out of the Original State of Mankind, and without any Records or Remembrances, beyond certain ſhort periods of time. Thus, that vaſt Continent of *Norway*, is ſaid to have been ſo wholly deſolated by a Plague, about Eight or Nine Hundred Years ago; that it was for ſome Ages following, a very Deſart, and ſince all over-grown with Wood; And *Ireland* was ſo ſpoiled and waſted by the Conqueſts of the *Scutes* and *Danes*, that there hardly remains any Story or Tradition, what that Iſland was, how Planted or Governed above Five Hundred Years ago. What changes have been made by Violent Storms, and Inundations of the Sea, in the Maritime Provinces of the *Low Countrys*, is hard to know; or to believe what is told, nor how ignorant they have left us, of all that paſſed there, before a certain and ſhort period of time.

The Accounts of many other Countries, would perhaps, as hardly, and as late, have waded out of the Depths

of Time, and Gulphs of Ignorance, had it not been for the Assistance of those two Languages, to which we owe all we have, of Learning or Ancient Records in the World. For whether we have any thing of the Old *Chaldæan*, *Hebrew*, *Arabian*, that is truly Genuine, or more Ancient than the *Augustan* Age, I am much in doubt; yet 'tis probable, the vast *Alexandrian* Library must have chiefly consisted of Books composed in those Languages, with the *Ægyptian*, *Syrian* and *Æthiopick*, or at least, Translated out of them by the Care of the *Ægyptian* Kings or Priests, as the *Old Testament* was wherein the *Septuagints* employed, left their Name to that Famous Translation.

'Tis very true and just, All that is said of the mighty Progress that Learning and Knowledge have made in these *Western* Parts of *Europe*, within these hundred and fifty Years; but that does not conclude, it must be at greater Heighth than it had been in other Countries, where it was growing much longer Periods of Time; it argues more how low it was then amongst us, rather than how high it is now.

Upon

Upon the Fall of the *Roman* Empire, almoſt all Learning was buried in its Ruines: The *Northern* Nations that Conquered, or rather overwhelmed it by their Numbers, were too barbarous to preſerve the Remains of Learning or Civility, more carefully than they did thoſe of Statuary or Architecture, which fell before their Brutiſh Rage. The *Saracens* indeed from their Conqueſts of *Ægypt*, *Syria*, and *Greece*, carried home great Spoils of Learning, as well as other Riches, and gave the Original of all that Knowledge, which flouriſhed for ſome time among the *Arabians*, and has ſince been copied out of many Authors among them, as theirs had been out of thoſe of the Countries they had ſubdued; nor indeed, do Learning, Civility, Morality, ſeem any where to have made a greater Growth, in ſo ſhort a Time, than in that Empire, nor to have flouriſhed more than in the Reign of their Great *Almanzor*, under whoſe Victorious Enſigns, *Spain* was Conquered by the *Moors*; but the *Goths*, and all the reſt of thoſe *Scythian* Swarms that from beyond the *Danube* and the *Elb*, under ſo many ſeveral Names, over-

run all *Europe*, took very hardly, and very late, any Tincture of the Learning and Humanity that had flouriſhed in the ſeveral Regions of it, under the Protection, and by the Example and Inſtructions of the *Romans*, that had ſo long poſſeſſed them: Thoſe *Northern* Nations were indeed eaſier induced to embrace the Religion of thoſe they had ſubdued, and by their Devotion gave great Authority and Revenues, and thereby Eaſe to the Clergy, both Secular and Regular, through all their Conqueſts. Great Numbers, of the better ſort, among the Oppreſſed Natives, finding this vein among them, and no other way to be ſafe and quiet under ſuch rough Maſters, betook themſelves to the Profeſſion and Aſſemblies of Religious Orders and Fraternities, and among thoſe onely were preſerved all the poor Remainders of Learning, in theſe ſeveral Countries.

But theſe good men either contented themſelves with their Devotion, or with the Eaſe of quiet Lives, or elſe employed their Thoughts and Studies to raiſe and maintain the Eſteem and Authority of that Sacred Order, to which they owed the Safety and Repoſe,

poſe, the Wealth and Honour they enjoyed. And in this they ſo well ſucceeded, that the Conquerors were governed by thoſe they had ſubdued, the Greateſt Princes by the Meaneſt Prieſts, and the Victorious *Franks* and *Lombard* Kings, fell at the feet of the *Roman* Prelates.

Whilſt the Clergy were buſied in theſe Thoughts or Studies, the better ſort among the Laity were wholly turned to Arms and to Honour, the meaner ſort to Labour or to Spoil; Princes taken up with Wars among themſelves, or in thoſe of the Holy Land, or between the Popes and Emperors, upon Diſputes of the Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Powers; Learning ſo little in uſe among them, that few could write or read, beſides thoſe of the Long Robes. During this Courſe of Time, which laſted many Ages in the *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe*, The *Greek* Tongue was wholly loſt, and the Purity of the *Roman* to that degree, that what remained of it, was onely a certain Jargon rather than Latin, that paſſed among the *Monks* and *Fryers* who were at all Learned, and among the Students of the ſeveral

Universities, which served to carry them to *Rome*, in pursuit of Preferments or Causes depending there, and little else.

When the *Turks* took *Constantinople*, about two hundred Years ago, and soon after possessed themselves of all *Greece*, the poor Natives fearing the Tyranny of those cruel Masters, made their Escapes in great Numbers to the Neighbouring parts of Christendom, some by the *Austrian* Territories into *Germany*, others by the *Venetian* into *Italy* and *France*; several that were Learned among these *Grecians*, (and brought many Ancient Books with them in that Language) began to teach it in these Countries, first to gain subsistence, and afterwards Favour in some Princes, or Great mens Courts, who began to take a Pleasure or Pride in countenancing Learned men: Thus began the Restoration of Learning in these parts, with that of the *Greek* Tongue; and soon after, *Reuchlyn* and *Erasmus* began that of the purer and ancient Latin. After them, *Buchanan* carried it, I think, to the greatest Heighth of any of the Moderns before or since: The *Monkish* Latin upon this Return,

Return, was laughed out of doors, and remains only in the Inns of *Germany* or *Poland*; and with the Reſtitution of theſe two Noble Languages, and the Books remaining of them (which many Princes and Prelates were curious to recover and collect) Learning of all ſorts began to thrive in theſe *Weſtern* Regions; and ſince that time, and in the firſt ſucceeding Century, made perhaps a greater growth than in any other that we know of, in ſuch a compaſs of Time, conſidering into what Depths of Ignorance it was ſunk before.

But why from thence ſhould be concluded, That it has out-grown all that was Ancient, I ſee no Reaſon; If a Strong and Vigorous man, at Thirty Years old, ſhould fall into a Conſumption, and ſo draw on till Fifty, in the extreameſt Weakneſs and Infirmity; after that, ſhould begin to Recover Health till Sixty, ſo as to be again as Strong, as men uſually are at that Age; It might perhaps truly be ſaid, in that caſe, that he had grown more in Strength, that laſt Ten Years, than any others of his life, but not that he was grown to more Strength and Vi-

gour,

gour, than he had at Thirty Years old.

But what are the Sciences, wherein we pretend to excel? I know of no New Philosophers, that have made Entries upon that Noble Stage, for Fifteen Hundred Years past, unless *Des Cartes* and *Hobbs* should pretend to it, of whom I shall make no Critick here, but only say, That by what appears of Learned Mens Opinions in this Age, they have by no means eclypsed the Lustre of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Epicurus*, or others of the Ancients. For Gramar or Rhetorick, no man ever disputed it with them, nor for Poetry, that ever I heard of, besides the New *French* Author I have mentioned, and against whose Opinion there could, I think, never have been given stronger Evidence than by his own Poems, Printed together with that Treatise.

There is nothing New in *Astronomy*, to vye with the Ancients, unless it be the *Copernican* System; nor in *Physick*, unless *Hervey's* Circulation of the blood. But whether either of these be modern discoveries, or derived from old Fountains, is disputed; Nay it is so too, whether they are true or no; for

for though reaſon may ſeem to favour them more than the contrary Opinions, yet ſenſe can very hardly allow them; and to ſatisfie Mankind, both theſe muſt concur. But if they are true, yet theſe two great diſcoveries have made no change in the concluſions of *Aſtronomy*, nor in the practiſe of Phyſick, and ſo have been of little uſe to the World, though perhaps of much honour to the Authors.

What are become of the Charms of Muſick, by which Men and Beaſts, Fiſhes, Fowls, and Serpents, were ſo frequently Enchanted, and their very Natures changed; By which the Paſſions of men were raiſed to the greateſt heigth and violence, and then as ſuddenly appeaſed, ſo as they might be juſtly ſaid, to be turned into Lyons or Lambs, into Wolves or into Harts, by the Power and Charms of this admirable Art. 'Tis agreed by the Learned, that the Science of Muſick, ſo admired of the Ancients, is wholly loſt in the World, and that what we have now, is made up out of certain Notes that fell into the fancy or obſervation of a poor *Fryar*, in chanting his Mattins. So as thoſe Two Divine Excellencies

cellencies of Muſick and Poetry, are grown, in a manner, to be little more, but the one Fidling, and the other Rhyming, and are indeed very worthy the ignorance of the Fryer, and the barbarouſneſs of the *Goths* that introduced them among us.

What have we remaining of *Magick*, by which, the *Indians*, the *Chaldeans*, the *Ægyptians*, were ſo renowned, and by which, effects ſo wonderful, and to common men ſo aſtoniſhing were produced, as made them have recourſe to Spirits or Supernatural Powers for ſome account of their ſtrange Operations. By *Magick*, I mean ſome excelling knowledge of Nature, and the various Powers and Qualities, in its ſeveral productions, and the application of certain Agents, to certain Patients, which by force of ſome peculiar qualities, produce effects very different from what fall under vulgar Obſervation or Comprehenſion. Theſe are by ignorant People called *Magick* and *Conjuring*, and ſuch like Terms, and an Account of them much about as wiſe, is given by the common Learned, from *Sympathies*, *Antipathies*, *Idioſyncraſys*, *Taliſmans*, and ſome ſcraps

or

or Terms, left us by the *Ægyptians* or *Grecians*, of the Ancient Magick, but the Science ſeems, with ſeveral others, to be wholly loſt.

What Traces have we left of that admirable Science or Skill in Architecture, by which, ſuch ſtupendious Fabricks have been raiſed of old, and ſo many of the Wonders of the World been produced, and which are ſo little approached by our Modern Atchievements of this ſort, that they hardly fall within our Imagination. Not to mention the Walls and Palace of *Babylon*, the Pyramids of *Egypt*, the Tomb of *Mauſolus*, or *Coloſſe* of *Rhodes*, the Temples and Palaces of *Greece* and *Rome*: What can be more admirable in this kind, than the *Roman* Theatres, their Aqueducts, and their Bridges, among which, that of *Trajan* over the *Danube*, ſeems to have been the laſt Flight of the Ancient Architecture. The ſtupendious Effects of this Science, ſufficiently evince, at what Heighths the Mathematicks were among the Ancients; but if this be not enough, whoever would be ſatisfied, need go no further than the Siege of *Syracuſe*, and that mighty Defence made againſt the

Roman

Roman Power, more by the wonderful Science and Arts of *Archimedes*, and almoſt Magical Force of his Engines, than by all the Strength of the City, or Number and Bravery of the Inhabitants.

The greateſt Invention that I know of in later Ages, has been that of the Load-Stone; and conſequently, the greateſt Improvement has been made in the Art of Navigation; yet there muſt be allowed to have been ſomething ſtupendious in the Numbers, and in the Built of their Ships and Gallies of old; and the Skill of Pylots, from the Obſervation of the Stars in the more ſerene Clymates, may be judged, by the Navigations ſo celebrated in Story, of the *Tyrians* and *Carthagenians*, not to mention other Nations. However, 'tis to this we owe the Diſcovery and Commerce of ſo many vaſt Countries, which were very little, if at all, known to the Ancients, and the experimental Proof of this Terreſtrial Globe, which was before only Speculation, but has ſince been ſurrounded by the Fortune and Boldneſs of ſeveral Navigators. From this great, though fortuitous Invention,

tion, and the consequence thereof, it must be allowed, that Geography is mightily advanced in these latter Ages. The Vast Continents of *China*, the *East* and *West Indies*, the long Extent and Coasts of *Africa*, with the numberless Islands belonging to them, have been hereby introduced into our Acquaintance, and our Maps, and great Increases of Wealth and Luxury, but none of Knowledge brought among us, further than the extent and Situation of Country, the customs and manners of so many original Nations, which we call Barbarous, and I am sure have treated them, as if we hardly esteem them to be a part of Mankind. I do not doubt, but many Great and more Noble Uses would have been made of such Conquests or Discoveries, if they had fallen to the share of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in those Ages, when Knowledge and Fame were in as great Request, as endless Gains and Wealth are among us now; and how much greater Discoveries might have been made by such Spirits as theirs, is hard to guess. I am sure, ours, though great, yet look very imperfect, as to to what the Face of this

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Terreſtrial Globe would probably appear, if they had been purſued as far as we might juſtly have expected from the Progreſſes of Navigation, ſince the Uſe of the Compaſs, which ſeems to have been long at a ſtand. How little has been performed, of what has been ſo often, and ſo confidently promiſed, of a *North-Weſt* Paſſage to the *Eaſt* of *Tartary*, and *North* of *China*? How little do we know of the Lands on that ſide of the *Magellan Streights*, that lye towards the *South Pole*, which may be vaſt Iſlands or Continents, for ought any can yet aver, though that Paſſage was ſo long ſince found out? Whether *Japan* be Iſland or Continent, with ſome parts of *Tartary*, on the *North* ſide, is not certainly agreed. The Lands of *Teaſo*, upon the *North-Eaſt* Continent, have been no more than Coaſted, and whether they may not joyn to the *Northern* Continent of *America*, is by ſome doubted.

But the Defect or Negligence ſeems yet to have been greater towards the *South*, where we know little beyond Thirty Five Degrees, and that only, by the Neceſſity of doubling the Cape of *Good-hope*, in our *Eaſt-India* Voy-

ages;

ages, yet a Continent has been long since found out, within Fifteen Degrees to *South*, and about the Length of *Java*, which is Marked by the Name of *New Holland* in the Maps, and to what Extent, none knows, either to the *South*, the *East*, or the *West*; yet the Learned have been of Opinion, That there must be a Balance of Earth, on that side of the Line, in some Proportion to what there is on the other, and that it cannot be all *Sea*, from Thirty Degrees to the *South-Pole*, since we have found Land to above Sixty Five Degrees towards the *North*. But our Navigators that way, have been confined to the Roads of Trade; and our Discoveries bounded by what we can manage to a certain Degree of Gain. And I have heard it said among the *Dutch*, that their *East-India*-Company have long since forbidden, and under the greatest Penalties, any further Attempts of discovering that Continent, having already more Trade in those Parts, than they can turn to Account, and fearing some more Populous Nation of *Europe*, might make great Establishments of Trade in some of those un-

known Regions which might ruine or impair what they have already in the *Indies*.

Thus we are lame ſtill in Geography it ſelf, which we might have expected to run up to ſo much greater Perfection, by the Uſe of the Compaſs, and it ſeems to have been little advanced theſe laſt Hundred Years. So far have we been from improving upon thoſe Advantages we have received, from the Knowledge of the Ancients, that ſince the late Reſtoration of Learning and Arts among us, our firſt Flights ſeem to have been the higheſt, and a ſudden Damp to have fallen upon our Wings, which has hindered us from riſing above certain Heights. The Arts of Painting and Statuary, began to revive with Learning in *Europe*, and made a great, but ſhort Flight; ſo as for theſe laſt Hundred Years, we have not had One Maſter in either of them, who deſerved a Rank with thoſe that flouriſhed in that ſhort Period, after they began among us.

It were too great a Mortification to think, That the ſame Fate has happened to us, even in our Modern Learning,

Learning, as if the Growth of that, as well as of Natural Bodies, had ſome ſhort Periods, beyond which it could not reach, and after which, it muſt begin to decay. It falls in one Country or one Age, and riſes again in others, but never beyond a certain Pitch. One man, or one Country, at a certain Time runs a great Length in ſome certain Kinds of Knowledge, but loſe as much Ground in others, that were perhaps as uſeful and as valuable. There is a certain Degree of Capacity in the greateſt Veſſel, and when 'tis full, if you pour in ſtill, it muſt run out ſome way or other; and the more it runs out on one ſide, the leſs runs out at the other. So the greateſt Memory, after a certain Degree, as it learns or retains more of ſome Things or Words, loſes and forgets as much of others. The largeſt and deepeſt Reach of Thought, the more it purſues ſome certain Subjects, the more it neglects others.

Beſides, few men or none excel in all Faculties of Mind. A great Memory may fail of Invention, both may want Judgment to Digeſt or Apply, what they Remember or Invent. Great

Courage may want Caution, great Prudence may want Vigour, yet all are neceſſary to make a great Commander. But how can a man hope, to excel in all qualities, when ſome are produced by the heat, others by the coldneſs of Brain and Temper? The abilities of man muſt fall ſhort on one ſide or other, like too ſcanty a Blanket when you are a Bed, if you pull it upon your Shoulders, you leave your Feet bare; if you thruſt it down upon your Feet, your Shoulders are uncovered.

But what would we have, unleſs it be other Natures and Beings than God Almighty has given us. The heigth of our Statures may be ſix or ſeven Foot, and we would have it ſixteen; the length of our Age may reach to a hundred Years, and we would have it a thouſand. We are born to grovel upon the Earth, and we would fain ſoar up to the Skies. We cannot comprehend the growth of a Kernel or Seed, the Frame of an *Ant* or *Bee*, we are amazed at the Wiſdom of the one, and Induſtry of the other, and yet we will know the Subſtance, the Figure, the Courſes, the Influences, of all

all thoſe Glorious Cœleſtial Bodies, and the end for which they were made; we pretend to give a clear Account, how Thunder and Lightning (that great Artillery of God Almighty) is produced, and we cannot comprehend how the Voice of a man is Framed, that poor little noiſe we make every time we ſpeak. The motion of the Sun, is plain and evident to ſome Aſtronomers, and of the Earth to others, yet we none of us know, which of them moves, and meet with many ſeeming impoſſibilities in both, and beyond the fathom of human reaſon or comprehenſion. Nay we do not ſo much as know what Motion is, nor how a ſtone moves from our hand, when we throw it croſs the Street. Of all theſe that moſt Ancient and Divine Writer, gives the beſt Account in that ſhort Satyr, *Vain man would fain be wiſe, when he is born like a wild Aſſes Colt.*

But God be thanked, his Pride is greater than his ignorance; and what he wants in Knowledge, he ſupplies by Sufficiency. When he has looked about him as far as he can, he concludes there is no more to be ſeen; when he is at

the end of his Line, he is at the bottom of the Ocean; when he has ſhot his beſt, he is ſure, none ever did nor ever can ſhoot better or beyond it. His own Reaſon is the certain meaſure of truth, his own Knowledge, of what is poſſible in Nature, though his mind and his thoughts change every ſeven Years, as well as his ſtrength and his features; nay, though his Opinions change every Week or every Day, yet he is ſure, or at leaſt confident, that his preſent thoughts and concluſions are juſt and true, and cannot be deceived; And among all the miſeries, to which mankind is born and ſubjected, in the whole courſe of his life, he has this one Felicity to Comfort and Support him, That in all ages, in all things, every man is always in the right. A Boy of fifteen is wiſer than his Father at forty, the meaneſt Subject than his Prince or Governours; and the modern Scholars, becauſe they have for a Hundred Years paſt learned their Leſſon pretty well, are much more knowing than the Ancients their Maſters.

But let it be ſo, and proved by good reaſons, Is it ſo by experience too?

too? Have the Studies, the Writings, the Productions of *Gresham* Colledge, or the late Academies of *Paris*, outshined or eclypsed the Lycæum of *Plato*, the Academy of *Aristotle*, the Stoa of *Zeno*, the Garden of *Epicurus*? Has *Hervy* outdone *Hippocrates*, or *Wilkins*, *Archimedes*? Are *D'avila's* and *Strada's* Histories beyond those of *Herodotus* and *Livy*? Are *Sleyden's* Commentaries beyond those of *Cæsar*? The Flights of *Boileau* above those of *Virgil*? If all this must be allowed, I will then yield *Gondibert* to have excelled *Homer*, as it pretended; and the modern *French* Poetry, all that of the Ancients. And yet I think, it may be as reasonably said, That the Plays in *Moor-Fields* are beyond the *Olympick* Games; A *Welsh* or *Irish* Harp, excels those of *Orpheus* and *Arion*; The Pyramid in *London*, those of *Memphis*; and the *French* Conquests in *Flanders* are greater than those of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, as their Opera's and Panegyricks would make us believe.

But the Consideration of Poetry ought to be a Subject by it self. For the Books we have in Prose, Do any

of the modern we Converſe with, appear of ſuch a Spirit and Force, as if they would live longer than the Ancient have done? If our Wit and Eloquence, our knowledge or Inventions would deſerve it, yet our Languages would not, there is no hope of their laſting long, nor of any thing in them, they change every Hundred Years ſo as to be hardly known for the ſame, or any thing of the former Styles to be endured by the later; ſo as they can no more laſt like the Ancients, than excellent Carvings in Wood like thoſe in Marble or Braſs.

The three modern Tongues moſt eſteemed, are *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, and *French*, all imperfect Dialects of the Noble *Roman*; firſt mingled and corrupted with the harſh Words and Terminations of thoſe many different and barbarous Nations, by whoſe Invaſions and Excurſions, the *Roman* Empire was long infeſted: They were afterwards made up into theſe ſeveral Languages, by long and popular uſe, out of thoſe ruins and corruptions of *Latin*, and the prevailing Languages of thoſe Nations, to which, theſe ſeveral Provinces came in time to be moſt and longeſt ſubjected

jected (as the *Goths* and *Moors* in *Spain*, the *Goths* and *Lombards* in *Italy*, the *Franks* in *Gaul*) besides a mingle of those Tongues, which were Original to *Gaul* and to *Spain*, before the *Roman* Conquests and Establishments there. Of these, there may be some remainders in *Biscay*, or the *Asturias*; but I doubt, whether there be any of the old *Gallick* in *France*, the subjection there having been more Universal, both to the *Romans* and *Franks*. But I do not find, the Mountainous Parts on the *North* of *Spain*, were ever wholly subdued, or formerly Governed, either by the *Romans*, *Goths*, or *Saracens*, no more than *Wales* by *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Normans*; after their Conquests in our Islands, which has preserved the ancient *Biscayn* and *British* more entire, than any Native Tongue of other Provinces, where the *Roman* and *Gothick*, or *Northern* Conquests reached, and were for any time Established.

'Tis easy to imagine, how imperfect Copies these modern Languages, thus composed, must needs be, of so excellent an Original, being patcht up, out of the Conceptions as well as Sounds, of such barbarous, or enslaved People.

People. Whereas the *Latin* was framed or cultivated, by the thoughts and wits of the Noblest Nation that appears upon any Record of Story, and enriched only by the Spoyls of *Greece*, which alone could pretend to contest it with them. 'Tis obvious enough, what rapport there is, and must ever be, between the thoughts and words, the Conceptions and Languages of every Country, and how great a difference this must make in the Comparison and Excellence of Books; and how easy and just a preference it must decree, to those of the *Greek* and *Latin*, before any of the modern Languages.

It may perhaps, be further affirmed, in Favour of the Ancients, that the oldest Books we have, are still in their kind the best. The two most ancient, that I know of in Prose, among those we call prophane Authors, are *Æsop*'s Fables, and *Phalaris*'s Epistles, both living near the same time, which was that of *Cyrus* and *Pythagoras*. As the first has been agreed by all Ages since, for the greatest Master in his kind, and all others of that sort, have been but imitations

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ons of his Original; ſo I think the Epiſtles of *Phalaris*, to have more Race, more Spirit, more Force of Wit and Genius, than any others I have ever ſeen, either ancient or modern. I know ſeveral Learned men (or that uſually paſs for ſuch, under the Name of Criticks) have not eſteemed them Genuine, and *Politian* with ſome others, have attributed them to *Lucian*: But I think, he muſt have little skill in Painting, that cannot find out this to be an Original; ſuch diverſity of Paſſions, upon ſuch variety of Actions, and Paſſages of Life and Government, ſuch Freedom of Thought, ſuch Boldneſs of Expreſſion, ſuch Bounty to his Friends, ſuch Scorn of his Enemies, ſuch Honour of Learned men, ſuch eſteem of Good, ſuch Knowledge of Life, ſuch Contempt of Death, with ſuch Fierceneſs of Nature and Cruelty of Revenge, could never be repreſented, but by him that poſſeſſed them; and I eſteem *Lucian* to have been no more Capable of Writing, than of Acting what *Phalaris* did. In all one Writ, you find the Scholar or the Sophiſt; and in all the other, the Tyrant and the Commander.

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The next to these in Time, are *Herodotus*, *Thucidides*; *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *Aristotle*; of whom I shall say no more, than what I think is allowed by all, that they are in their several kinds, inimitable. So are *Cæsar*, *Salust*, and *Cicero*, in theirs, who are the Ancientest of the Latin, (I speak still of Prose) unless it be some little of old *Cato*, upon Rustick Affairs.

The Height and Purity of the *Roman* Style, as it began towards the Time of *Lucretius*, which was about that of the *Jugurthin* War; so it ended about that of *Tyberius*; and the last strain of it, seems to have been *Velleius Paterculus*. The Purity of the *Greek* lasted a great deal longer, and must be allowed till *Trajan*'s Time, when *Plutarch* wrote, whose Greek is much more esteemable, than the Latin of *Tacitus* his Contemporary. After this last, I know none that deserves the Name of *Latin*, in comparison of what went before them, especially in the *Augustan* Age; If any, 'tis the little Treatise of *Minutius Felix*. All Latin Books that we have till the end of *Trajan*, and all Greek

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till the end of *Marcus Antoninus*, have a true and very eſteemable value. All written ſince that time, ſeem to me to have little more than what comes from the Relation of Events, we are glad to know, or the Controverſy of Opinions in Religion or Laws, wherein the buſie World has been ſo much imployed.

The great Wits among the moderns have been, in my Opinion, and in their ſeveral kinds, of the *Italians*, *Boccace*, *Machiavel*, and *Padre Paolo*; among the *Spaniards*, *Cervantes*, (that writ *Don Quixot*) and *Guevara*; among the *French*, *Rablais*, and *Montagne*; among the *Engliſh*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, *Bacon* and *Selden*: I mention nothing of what is written upon the Subject of Divinity, wherein the *Spaniſh* and *Engliſh* Pens have been moſt Converſant, and moſt Excelled. The modern *French*, are *Voiture*, *Rochfaucalt's* Memoirs, *Buſſy's Amours de Gaul*, with ſeveral other little Relations or Memoirs that have run this Age, which are very pleaſant and entertaining, and ſeem to have Refined the *French* Language to a degree, that cannot be well exceeded. I doubt it may have happened there, as it does

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in all Works, that the more they are filed and polished, the less they have of weight and of strength; and as that Language has much more fineness and smoothness at this time, so I take it, to have had much more force, spirit and compass, in *Montagne's* Age.

Since those accidents, which contributed to the Restoration of Learning, almost extinguished in the *Western* parts of *Europe*, have been observed, it will be just to mention some, that may have hindred the advancement of it, in proportion to what might have been expected from the mighty growth and progress made in the first Age after its recovery. One great reason may have been, that very soon after the entry of Learning, upon the Scene of Christendom, another was made, by many of the New-Learned men, into the inquiries and contests about matters of Religion, the manners and maxims and institutions introduced by the Clergy, for seven or eight Centuries past, The Authority of Scripture and Tradition, Of Popes and of Councels, Of the ancient Fathers and of the later School-men and Casuists,

Caſuiſts, Of Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power. The humour of ravelling into all theſe myſtical or entangled Matters, mingling with the Intereſts and Paſſions of Princes and of Parties, and thereby heightned or inflamed, produced infinite Diſputes, raiſed violent Heats throughout all Parts of Chriſtendom, and ſoon ended in many Defections or Reformations from the *Roman* Church, and in ſeveral new Inſtitutions, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, in diverſe Countries, which have been ſince Rooted and Eſtabliſhed in almoſt all the *North-Weſt* Parts. The endleſs Diſputes and litigious Quarrels upon all theſe Subjects, favoured and encouraged by the Intereſts of the ſeveral Princes engaged in them, either took up wholly, or generally imployed the Thoughts, the Studies, the Applications, the endeavours of all or moſt of the fineſt Wits, the deepeſt Scholars, and the moſt Learned Writers that the Age produced. Many excellent Spirits, and the moſt penetrating Genys, that might have made admirable Progreſſes and Advances in many other Sciences, were ſunk and overwhelmed in the abyſs of Diſputes, about

about matters of Religion, without ever turning their Looks or Thoughts any other way. To these Disputes of the Pen, succeeded those of the Sword, and the Ambition of great Princes and Ministers, mingled with the Zeal, or covered with the pretences of Religion, has for a Hundred Years past infested Christendom with almost a perpetual Course or Succession, either of Civil or of Foreign Wars; the noise and disorders thereof, have been ever the most capital Enemies of the *Muses*, who are seated by the ancient Fables, upon the top of *Parnassus*, that is, in a place of safety and of quiet, from the reach of all noises and disturbances of the Regions below.

Another circumstance, that may have hindred the advancement of Learning, has been a want or decay of Favour in great Kings and Princes, to encourage or applaud it. Upon the first return or recovery of this fair Stranger among us, all were fond of seeing her, apt to applaud her; she was lodged in Palaces instead of Cells, and the greatest Kings and Princes of the Age, took either a pleasure in courting her, or a vanity in admiring her,

her, and in favouring all her Train. The Courts of *Italy* and *Germany*, of *England*, of *France*, of *Popes* and of *Emperors*, thought themselves Honoured and Adorned, by the Number and Qualities of Learned men, and by all the improvements of Sciences and Arts, wherein they excelled. They were invited from all Parts, for the Use and Entertainment of Kings, for the Education and Instruction of Young Princes, for Advice and Assistance to the greatest Ministers, and in short, the Favour of Learning was the humour and mode of the Age. *Francis* the First, *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Eighth (those three great Rivals) agreed in this, though in nothing else. Many Nobles pursued this Vein with great Application and Success; among whom, *Picus de Mirandula*, a Sovereign Prince in *Italy*, might have proved a Prodigy of Learning, if his Studies and Life had lasted as long as those of the Ancients. For I think all of them that writ much of what we have now remaining, lived old, whereas he dyed about Three and Thirty, and left the World in admiration of so much knowledge in so much youth.

Since those Reigns I have not observed in our modern Story, any Great Princes much Celebrated for their Favour of Learning, further than to serve their turns, to justifie their Pretensions and Quarrels, or flatter their Successes. The Honour of Princes has of late struck Sale to their Interest; whereas of old, their Interests, Greatness, and Conquests, were all Dedicated to their Glory and Fame.

How much the Studies and Labours of Learned men, must have been damped for want of this influence and kind aspect of Princes, may be best conjectured from what happened on the contrary, about the *August* Age, when the Learning of *Rome* was at its height, and perhaps owed it in some Degree, to the Bounty and Patronage of that Emperor, and *Mecenas* his Favourite, as well as to the Felicity of the Empire, and Tranquility of the Age.

The humour of Avarice, and greedines of Wealth, have been ever, and in all Countries, where Silver and Gold have been in Price, and of current use; But if it be true in particular Men, that as Riches encrease, the desires of them

them do ſo too; May it not be true? of the general Vein and Humour of Ages? May they not have turned more to this purſuit of inſatiable gains, ſince the Diſcoveries and Plantations of the *Weſt-Indies*, and thoſe vaſt Treaſures that have flowed in to theſe *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe* almoſt every Year, and with ſuch mighty Tides for ſo long a courſe of time? Where few are rich, few care for it; where many are ſo, many deſire it; and moſt in time begin to think it neceſſary. Where this Opinion grows generally in a Countrey, the Temples of Honour are ſoon pulled down, and all mens Sacrifices are made to thoſe of Fortune. The Souldier as well as the Merchant, the Scholar as well as the Ploughman, the Divine and the States-man, as well as the Lawyer and Phyſician.

Now I think, that nothing is more evident in the World, than that Honour is a much ſtronger Principle, both of Action and Invention, than gain can ever be. That all the Great and Noble Productions of Wit and of Courage, have been inſpired and exalted by that alone. That the Charming Flights and Labours of Poets, the deep

Speculations and Studies of Philoſophers, the Conqueſts of Emperors and Atchievements of Heroes, have all flowed from this one Source of Honour and Fame. The laſt Farewel that *Horace* takes of his Lyrick Poems, *Epicurus* of his Inventions in Philoſophy, *Auguſtus* of his Empire and Government, are all of the ſame ſtrain; and as their Lives were entertained, ſo their Age was relieved, and their Deaths ſoftned, by the Proſpect of lying down upon the Bed of Fame.

Avarice is on the other ſide, of all Paſſions the moſt ſordid, the moſt clogged and covered with dirt and with droſs, ſo that it cannot raiſe its Wings beyond the ſmell of the Earth: 'Tis the Pay of common Soldiers, as Honour is of Commanders, and yet among thoſe themſelves, none ever went ſo far upon the hopes of prey or of ſpoils, as thoſe that have been ſpirited by Honour or Religion. 'Tis no wonder then, that Learning has been ſo little advanced ſince it grew to be mercenary, and the Progreſs of it has been fettered by the cares of the World, and diſturbed by the Deſires of being Rich, or the

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fears of being Poor; from all which, the ancient *Philoſophers*, the *Brachmans* of *India*, the *Chaldæan Magi*, and *Ægyptian* Prieſts were diſentangled and free.

But the laſt maim given to Learning, has been by the ſcorn of Pedantry, which the ſhallow, the ſuperficial, and the ſufficient among Scholars, firſt drew upon themſelves, and very juſtly, by pretending to more than they had, or to more eſteem than what they had could deſerve; by broaching it in all places, at all times, upon all occaſions, and by living ſo much among themſelves, or in their Cloſets and Cells, as to make them unfit for all other buſineſs, and ridiculous in all other Converſations. As an Infection that riſes in a Town, firſt falls upon Children or weak Conſtitutions, or thoſe that are ſubject to other Diſeaſes, but ſpreading further by degrees, ſeizes upon the moſt healthy, vigorous, and ſtrong; and when the Contagion grows very general, all the Neighbours avoid coming into the Town, or are afraid of thoſe that are well among them, as much as of thoſe that are ſick. Juſt ſo it fared in the Com-

monwealth of Learning, ſome poor weak Conſtitutions were firſt infected with Pedantry, the Contagion ſpread in time upon ſome that were ſtronger; Foreigners that heard there was a Plague in the Countrey, grew afraid to come there, and avoided the commerce of the Sound, as well as of the Diſeaſed. This diſlike or apprehenſion turned, like all fear, to hatred, and hatred to ſcorn. The reſt of the Neighbours began firſt to rail at Pedants, then to ridicule them; the Learned began to fear the ſame Fate, and that the Pidgeons ſhould be taken for Daws, becauſe they were all in a Flock: And becauſe the pooreſt and meaneſt of the Company were proud, the beſt and the richeſt began to be aſhamed.

An Ingenious *Spaniard* at *Bruſſels*, would needs have it, that the Hiſtory of *Don Quixot* had ruined the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; For before that time, Love and Valour, were all Romance among them, every young Cavalier that entred the Scene, Dedicated the Services of his Life, to his Honour firſt, and then to his Miſtris. They Lived and Dyed in this Romantick Vein; and the old Duke of *Alva*, in his laſt *Portugal* expedition,

dition, had a young Miſtreſs, to whom, the Glory of that Atchievement was Devoted, by which he hoped to value himſelf, inſtead of thoſe qualities he had loſt with his youth. After *Don Quixot* appeared, and with that inimitable Wit and Humour, turned all this Romantick Honour and Love into Ridicule; the *Spaniards*, he ſaid, began to grow aſhamed of both, and to laugh at Fighting and Loving; or at leaſt otherwiſe, than to purſue their Fortune, or ſatisfy their Luſt; and the conſequences of this, both upon their Bodies and their Minds, this *Spaniard* would needs have paſs for a great Cauſe of the Ruin of *Spain*, or of its Greatneſs and Power.

Whatever effect, the Ridicule of Knight-Errantry might have had upon that Monarchy, I believe that of Pedantry has had a very ill one upon the Commonwealth of Learning; and I wish; the Vein of Ridiculing all that is ſerious and good, all Honour and Virtue, as well as Learning and Piety, may have no worſe effects on any other State: 'Tis the Itch of our Age and Clymat, and has over run both the Court and the Stage, enters a Houſe

of Lords and Commons, as boldly as a *Coffee*-House, Debates of Council as well as private Converſation; and I have known in my Life, more than one or two Miniſters of State, that would rather have ſaid a Witty thing, than done a Wiſe one; and made the Company Laugh, rather than the Kingdom Rejoyce. But this is enough to excuſe the imperfections of Learning in our Age, and to cenſure the ſufficiency of ſome of the Learned; and this ſmall Piece of Juſtice I have done the Ancients, will not I hope, be taken any more than 'tis meant, for any injury to the Moderns.

I ſhall Conclude with a ſaying of *Alphonſus* (Sirnamed the Wiſe) King of *Arazon*;

That among ſo many things as are by Men poſſeſſed or purſued in the Courſe of their Lives, all the reſt are Bawbles, Beſides Old Wood to Burn, Old Wine to Drink, Old Friends to Converſe with, and Old Books to Read.

ESSAY II.

Upon the Gardens of Epicurus; *or of Gardening, in the Year* 1685.

THE ſame Faculty of Reaſon, which gives Mankind the great Advantage and Prerogative over the reſt of the Creation, ſeems to make the greateſt Default of Humane Nature; and ſubjects it to more Troubles, Miſeries, or at leaſt Diſquiets of Life, than any of its Fellow-Creatures: Tis this furniſhes us with ſuch variety of Paſſions, and conſequently of Wants and Deſires, that none other feels; and theſe followed by infinite Deſigns and endleſs Purſuits, and improved by that reſtleſneſs of thought, which is natural to moſt Men, give Him a condition of Life ſuitable to that of His Birth; ſo that as He alone is born crying, He lives complaining, and dies diſappointed.

Since we cannot eſcape the purſuit of Paſſions, and perplexity of Thoughts, which

which our Reaſon furniſhes us, there is no way left, but to endeavour all we can, either to ſubdue or to divert them. This laſt is the common buſineſs of common men, who ſeek it by all ſorts of Sports, Pleaſures, Play, or Buſineſs. But becauſe the two firſt are of ſhort continuance, ſoon ending with wearineſs, or decay of Vigour and Appetite, the return whereof muſt be attended, before the others can be renewed; and becauſe Play grows dull, if it be not enlivened with the Hopes of Gain, the general Diverſion of Mankind ſeems to be Buſineſs, or the purſuit of Riches in one kind or other, which is an amuſement, that has this one advantage above all others, that it laſts thoſe Men who engage in it, to the very ends of their Lives; none ever growing too old for the Thoughts and Deſires of increaſing his Wealth and Fortunes, either for Himſelf, his Friends, or his Poſterity.

In the firſt and moſt ſimple Ages of each Country, the Conditions and Lives of men ſeem to have been very near of Kin with the reſt of the Creatures; they lived by the Hour, or by the Day, and ſatisfied their Appetite with what they could get, from the Herbs, the Fruits, the Springs they met with when they

were

were hungry or dry; then, with what Fiſh, Fowl or Beaſts they could kill, by Swiftneſs or Strength, by Craft or Contrivance, by their Hands or ſuch Inſtruments as Wit helped, or Neceſſity forced them to invent. When a man had got enough for the day, He laid up the reſt for the morrow, and ſpent one day in labour, that He might paſs the other at eaſe; and lured on by the Pleaſure of this Bait, when He was in Vigour, and His Game fortunate, He would provide for as many days as He could, both for Himſelf and His Children, that were too young to ſeek out for themſelves. Then He caſt about, how by ſowing of Grain, and by Paſture of the tamer Cattel, to provide for the whole year. After this, dividing the Lands neceſſary for theſe Uſes, firſt among Children, and then among Servants, He reſerved to Himſelf a Proportion of their Gain, either in the native Stock, or ſomething equivalent, which brought in the uſe of Mony; and where this once came in, none was to be ſatisfied, without having enough for Himſelf and His Family, and all His and their Poſterity for ever; ſo that I know a certain Lord who profeſſes to value no Leaſe, though for an hundred or a thouſand years, nor any

Eſtate

Estate or Possession of Land that is not for ever and ever.

From such small Beginnings have grown such vast and extravagant Designs of poor mortal men: Yet none could ever answer the naked Indian, Why one man should take pains, and run Hazards by Sea and Land all his Life, that his Children might be safe and lazy all theirs: And the Precept of taking no care for to morrow, though never minded as impracticable in the World, seems but to reduce Mankind to their natural and original Condition of Life. However by these ways and degrees the endless increase of riches seems to be grown the perpetual and general amusement or business of Mankind.

Some few in each Country make those higher Flights after Honour and Power, and to these ends sacrifice their Riches, their Labour, their Thought, and their Lives; and nothing diverts nor busies Men more, than these pursuits, which are usually covered with the Pretences, of serving a Mans Country, and of Publick Good. But the true service of the Publick is a business of so much Labour and so much Care, that though a good and wise man may not refuse it, if He be called to it by His Prince or His Country,

Country, and thinks He can be of more than vulgar uſe, yet He will ſeldom or never ſeek it, but leaves it commonly to men, who under the diſguiſe of Publick Good, purſue their own deſigns of Wealth, Power, and ſuch Baſtard Honours as uſually attend them, not that which is the true and only true Reward of Vertue.

The purſuits of Ambition, though not ſo general, yet are as endleſs as thoſe of Riches, and as extravagant; ſince none ever yet thought he had Power or Empire enough: And what Prince ſoever ſeems to be ſo great, as to live and reign without any further deſires or fears, falls into the Life of a private man, and enjoys but thoſe Pleaſures and Entertainments, which a great many ſeveral Degrees of private Fortune will allow, and as much as Humane Nature is capable of enjoying.

The Pleaſures of the Senſes grow a little more choice and refined; thoſe of Imagination are turned upon embelliſhing the Scenes He chooſes to live in; Eaſe, Conveniency, Elegancy, Magnificence, are ſought in Building firſt, and then in furniſhing Houſes or Palaces: The admirable imitations of Nature are introduced by Pictures, Statues, Tapeſtry

pestry, and other such atchievements of Arts. And the most exquisite delights of Sense are pursued, in the Contrivance and Plantations of Gardens, which, with Fruits, Flowers, Shades, Fountains, and the Musick of Birds that frequent such happy places, seem to furnish all the pleasures of the several Senses, and with the greatest, or at least the most natural Perfections.

Thus the first Race of *Assyrian* Kings, after the Conquests of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, passed their Lives, till their Empire fell to the *Medes*. Thus the *Caliphs* of *Egypt*, till deposed by their *Mamalukes*. Thus passed the latter parts of those great Lives of *Scipio*, *Lucullus*, *Augustus*, *Diocletian*. Thus turned the great Thoughts of *Henry* the Second of *France*, after the end of his Wars with *Spain*. Thus the present King of *Morocco*, after having subdued all his Competitors, passes His Life in a Country Villa, gives Audience in a Grove of Orange-trees planted among purling Streams. And thus the King of *France*, after all the Successes of his Counsels or Arms, and in the mighty Elevation of His present Greatness and Power, when He gives Himself leisure from such Designs or Pursuits, passes the softer and easier

easier parts of His time in Countrey Houses and Gardens, in building, planting or adorning the Scenes, or in the common Sports and Entertainments of such kind of Lives. And those mighty Emperors, who contented not themselves with these pleasures of common Humanity, fell into the Frantick or the Extravagant; they pretended to be Gods, or turned to be Devils, as *Caligula* and *Nero*, and too many others known enough in Story.

Whilst Mankind is thus generally busied or amused, that part of them, who have had either the Justice or the Luck, to pass in common Opinion for the wisest and the best part among them, have followed another and very different Scent; and instead of the common designs of satisfying their Appetites and their Passions, and making endless Provisions for both, they have chosen what they thought a nearer and a surer way to the ease and felicity of Life, by endeavouring to subdue, or at least to temper their Passions, and reduce their Appetites to what Nature seems only to ask and to need. And this design seems to have brought Philosophy into the World, at least that which is termed Moral, and appears to have an End, not

from

not only desirable by every man, which is the Ease and Happiness of Life, but also in some degree suitable to the force and reach of humane Nature. For as to that part of Philosophy, which is called Natural, I know no end it can have, but that of either busying a man's Brains to no purpose, or satisfying the Vanity, so natural to most men, of distinguishing themselves by some way or other, from those that seem their Equals in Birth, and the common advantages of it; and whether this distinction be made by Wealth or Power, or appearance of Knowledge, which gains Esteem and Applause in the World, is all a case. More than this, I know no Advantage Mankind has gained by the progress of Natural Philosophy, during so many Ages it has had Vogue in the World, excepting always, and very justly, what we owe to the Mathematicks, which is in a manner, all that seems valuable among the Civilized Nations, more than those we call Barbarous, whether they are so or no, or more so than our selves.

How ancient this Natural Philosophy has been in the World, is hard to know; for we find frequent mention of ancient Philosophers in this kind, among the most

most ancient now extant with us. The first who found out the Vanity of it, seems to have been *Solomon*, of which Discovery he has left such admirable strains in *Ecclesiastes*. The next was *Socrates*, who made it the business of His Life to explode it, and introduce that which we call Moral in its place, to busie Human Minds to better purpose. And indeed, whoever reads with Thought what these two, and *Marcus Antoninus*, have said upon the Vanity of all that mortal man can ever attain to know of Nature, in its Originals or Operations, may save himself a great deal of Pains, and justly conclude, That the knowledge of such things is not our Game; and (like the pursuit of a Stag by a little Spaniel) may serve to amuse and to weary us, but will never be hunted down. Yet I think those Three I have named, may justly pass for the wisest Triumvirate that are left us, upon the Records of Story or of Time.

After *Socrates*, who left nothing in writing, many Sects of Philosophers began to spread in *Greece*, who entred boldly upon both parts of Natural and Moral Philosophy. The first with the greatest Disagreement, and the most eager Contention that could be upon the

greateſt Subjects: As, Whether the World were Eternal, or produced at ſome certain time? Whether if produced, it was by ſome Eternal Mind, and to ſome end, or by the fortuitous Concourſe of Atoms, or ſome Particles of Eternal Matter? Whether there was one World or many? Whether the Soul of man was a part of ſome Æthereal and Eternal Subſtance, or was Corporeal? Whether if Eternal, it was ſo before it came into the Body, or only after it went out? There were the ſame Contentions about the Motions of the Heavens, the Magnitude of the Cœleſtial Bodies, the Faculties of the Mind, and the Judgment of the Senſes. But all the different Schemes of Nature that have been drawn of old, or of late by *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Epicurus*, *Des-Cartes*, *Hobs*, or any other that I know of, ſeem to agree but in one thing, which is, The want of Demonſtration or Satisfaction, to any thinking and unpoſſeſſed Man; and ſeem more or leſs probable one than another, according to the Wit and Eloquence of the Authors and Advocates that raiſe or defend them; like Juglers Tricks, that have more or leſs appearance of being real, according to the dextrouſneſs and skill of Him that plays 'em; whereas per-

perhaps if we were capable of knowing Truth and Nature, these fine Schemes would prove like Rover Shots, some nearer and some further off, but all at great distance from the Mark, it may be none in sight.

Yet in the midst of these and many other such Disputes and Contentions in their Natural Philosophy, they seemed to agree much better in their Moral, and upon their Enquiries after the Ultimate End of man, which was his Happiness; their Contentions or Differences seem'd to be rather in Words, than in the Sense of their Opinions, or in the true meaning of their several Authors or Masters of their Sects: All concluded, that Happiness was the Chief Good, and ought to be the Ultimate End of Man; that as this was the end of Wisdom, so Wisdom was the way to Happiness. The Question then was, In what this Happiness consisted. The Contention grew warmest between the Stoicks and Epicureans, the other Sects in this point siding in a manner with one or the other of these, in their Conceptions or Expressions. The Stoicks would have it to consist in Virtue, and the Epicureans in Pleasure; yet the most reasonable of the Stoicks made the pleasure of Virtue to

be the greateſt Happineſs; and the beſt of the Epicureans made the greateſt Pleaſure to conſiſt in Virtue; and the difference between theſe two, ſeems not eaſily diſcovered: All agreed, the greateſt Temper, if not the total ſubduing of Paſſion, and exerciſe of Reaſon, to be the ſtate of the greateſt Felicity: To live without Deſires or Fears, or thoſe Perturbations of Mind and Thought, which Paſſions raiſe: To place true Riches in wanting little, rather than in poſſeſſing much; and true Pleaſure in Temperance, rather than in ſatisfying the Senſes: To live with indifference to the common Enjoyments and Accidents of Life, and with Conſtancy upon the greateſt Blows of Fate or of Chance; not to diſturb our Minds with ſad Reflections upon what is paſt, nor with anxious Cares or raving Hopes about what is to come; neither to diſquiet Life with the Fears of Death, nor Death with the Deſires of Life; but in both, and in all things elſe, to follow Nature, ſeem to be the Precepts moſt agreed among them.

Thus Reaſon ſeems only to have been called in, to allay thoſe Diſorders which it ſelf had raiſed, to cure its own Wounds, and pretends to make us wiſe no other way, than by rendring us inſenſible.

This

This at least was the Profession of many rigid Stoicks, who would have had a wise Man, not only without any sort of Passion, but without any Sense of Pain, as well as Pleasure, and to enjoy Himself in the midst of Diseases and Torments, as well as of Health and Ease; a Principle, in my mind, against common Nature and common Sense, and which might have told us in fewer Words, or with less Circumstance, that a Man to be wise, should not be a Man; and this perhaps might have been easie enough to believe, but nothing so hard as the other.

The Epicureans were more intelligible in their Notion, and fortunate in their Expression, when they placed a man's Happiness in the Tranquility of Mind, and Indolence of Body; for while we are composed of both, I doubt both must have a share in the good or ill we feel. As Men of several Languages, say the same things in very different Words; so in several Ages, Countries, Constitutions of Laws and Religion, the same thing seems to be meant by very different expressions; What is called by the Stoicks Apathy, or Dispassion; by the Scepticks, Indisturbance; by the Molinists, Quietism; by common men, Peace of Conscience; seems all to mean but great

Tranquility of Mind, though it be made to proceed from ſo diverſe Cauſes, as Human Wiſdom, Innocence of Life, or Reſignation to the Will of God. An old Uſurer had the ſame Notion, when He ſaid, No man could have Peace of Conſcience, that run out of his Eſtate; not comprehending what elſe was meant by that Phraſe, beſides true Quiet and Content of Mind; which however expreſſed, is, I ſuppoſe, meant by all, to be the beſt account that can be given of the Happineſs of man, ſince no man can pretend to be happy without it.

I have often wondred, how ſuch ſharp and violent Invectives came to be made ſo generally againſt *Epicurus*, by the Ages that followed Him, whoſe Admirable Wit, Felicity of Expreſſion, Excellence of Nature, Sweetneſs of Converſation, Temperance of Life, and Conſtancy of Death, made Him ſo beloved by His Friends, admired by his Scholars, and honoured by the *Athenians*. But this Injuſtice may be faſtned chiefly upon the envy and malignity of the Stoicks at firſt, then upon the Miſtakes of ſome groſs Pretenders to His Sect (who took Pleaſure only to be Senſual) and afterwards, upon the Piety of the Primitive Chriſtians, who eſteemed his Principles

of

of Natural Philoſophy, more oppoſite to thoſe of our Religion, than either the *Platoniſts*, the *Peripateticks*, or *Stoicks* themſelves: Yet I confeſs, I do not know why the account given by *Lucretius* of the Gods, ſhould be thought more impious, than that given by *Homer*, who makes them not only ſubject to all the weakeſt Paſſions, but perpetually buſie in all the worſt or meaneſt Actions of men.

But *Epicurus* has found ſo great Advocates of His Virtue, as well as Learning and Inventions, that there need no more; and the Teſtimonies of *Diogenes Laertius* alone, ſeem too ſincere and impartial to be diſputed, or to want the aſſiſtance of Modern Authors: If all failed, He would be but too well defended by the Excellence of ſo many of His Sect in all Ages, and eſpecially of thoſe who lived in the compaſs of one, but the greateſt in Story, both as to Perſons and Events: I need name no more than *Caſar*, *Atticus*, *Mecanas*, *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, all admirable in their ſeveral kinds, and perhaps unparallel'd in Story.

Caſar, if conſider'd in all Lights, may juſtly challenge the firſt place in the Regiſters we have of Mankind, equal only to Himſelf, and ſurpaſſing all others of his Nation and his Age, in the Virtues

and Excellencies of a Statesman, a Captain, an Orator, an Historian; besides all these, a Poet, a Philosopher when His leisure allowed Him; the greatest man of Council and of Action, of Design and Execution; the greatest Nobleness of Birth, of Person, and of Countenance; the greatest Humanity, and Clemency of nature, in the midst of the greatest Provocations, Occations and Examples of Cruelty and Revenge; 'tis true He overturned the Laws and Constitutions of his Country, yet 'twas after so many others had not only begun, but proceeded very far, to change and violate them; so as in what He did, He seems rather to have prevented others, than to have done what Himself designed; for though His Ambition was vast, yet it seems to have been raised to those Heights, rather by the Insolence of His Enemies, than by his own Temper; and that what was natural to Him, was only a desire of true Glory, and to acquire it by good Actions as well as great, by Conquests of barbarous Nations, extent of the Roman Empire, defending at first the Liberties of the *Plebeians*, opposing the Faction that had begun in *Sylla*, and ended in *Pompey*, and in the whole course of His Victories and Successes, seeking

seeking all occasions of Bounty to His Friends, and Clemency to His Enemies, *Atticus* appears to have been one of the wisest and best of the *Romans*, Learned without pretending, Good without Affectation, Bountiful without Design, a Friend to all men in misfortune, a Flatterer to no Man in Greatness or Power, a Lover of Mankind, and beloved by them all, and by these Virtues and Dispositions, he passed safe and untouched, through all the Flames of Civil Dissentions that ravag'd His Country the greatest part of His Life; and though He never entred into any Publick Affairs, or particular Factions of His State, yet He was favoured, honoured and courted by them all, from *Sylla* to *Augustus*.

Mecenas was the wisest Counsellour, the truest Friend, both of His Prince and His Country, the best Governor of *Rome*, the happiest and ablest Negotiator, the best Judge of Learning and Virtue, the choicest in His Friends, and thereby the happiest in His Conversation that has been known in Story; and I think, to His Conduct in Civil, and *Agrippa*'s in Military Affairs, may be truly ascribed all the Fortunes and Greatness of *Augustus*, so much celebrated in the World.

For

For *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, they deserve in my Opinion, the Honour of the greatest Philosophers, as well as the best Poets of their Nation or Age. The two first, besides what looks like something more than Human in their Poetry, were very great Naturalists, and admirable in their Morals: And *Horace*, besides the Sweetness and Elegancy of his Lyricks, appears in the rest of his Writings, so great a Master of Life, and of true Sense in the Conduct of it, that I know none beyond him. It was no mean strain of His Philosophy, to refuse being Secretary to *Augustus*, when so great an Emperor so much desired it. But all the different Sects of Philosophers, seem to have agreed in the Opinion, of a wise Man's abstaining from Publick Affairs, which is thought the meaning of *Pythagoras*'s Precept, To abstain from Beans, by which the Affairs or publick Resolutions in *Athens* were managed. They thought that sort of Business too gross and material for the abstracted fineness of their Speculations. They esteemed it too sordid and too artificial for the cleanness and simplicity of their Manners and Lives. They would have no part in the Faults of a Government, and they knew too

too well, that the Nature and Passions of men made them incapable of any that was perfect and good, and therefore thought all the Service they could do to the State they lived under, was to mend the Lives and Manners of particular men that composed it. But where Factions were once entred and rooted in a State, they thought it madness for Good men to meddle with Publick Affairs, which made them turn their Thoughts and Entertainments to any thing rather than this; and *Heraclitus* having upon the Factions of the Citizens, quitted the Government of His City, and amusing Himself, to play with the Boys in the Porch of the Temple, askt those who wondred at him, *Whether 'twas not better to play with such Boys, than govern such Men?* But above all, they esteemed Publick Business the most contrary of all others, to that Tranquility of Mind, which they esteemed and taught, to be the only true Felicity of man.

For this reason *Epicurus* passed His Life wholly in his Garden; there He Studied, there He Exercised, there He taught His Philosophy; and indeed, no other sort of Abode seems to contribute so much, to both the Tranquility of

Mind,

Mind, and Indolence of Body, which He made His Chief Ends. The Sweetness of Air, the Pleasantness of Smells, the Verdure of Plants, the Cleanness and Lightness of Food, the Exercises of working or walking, but above all, the Exemption from Cares and Sollicitude, seem equally to favour and improve, both Contemplation and Health, the Enjoyment of Sense and Imagination, and thereby the Quiet and Ease both of the Body and Mind.

Though *Epicurus* be said to have been the first that had a Garden in *Athens*, whole Citizens before Him, had theirs in their Villaes or Farms without the City; yet the use of Gardens seems to have been the most ancient and most general of any sorts of Possession among Mankind, and to have preceded those of Corn, or of Cattel, as yielding the easier, the pleasanter, and more natural Food. As it has been the Inclination of Kings, and the choice of Philosophers, so it has been the common Favourite of publick and private Men, a pleasure of the greatest, and the Care of the meanest, and indeed an Employment and a Possession, for which no Man is too high nor too low.

If we believe the Scripture, we must allow

allow that God Almighty esteemed the Life of a man in a Garden, the happiest He could give Him, or else He would not have placed *Adam* in that of *Eden*; that it was the state of Innocence and Pleasure; and that the Life of Husbandry and Cities, came in after the Fall, with Guilt and with Labour.

Where Paradise was, has been much debated, and little agreed; but what sort of place is meant by it, may perhaps easier be conjectured. It seems to have been a *Persian* Word, since *Zenophon* and other Greek Authors mention it, as what was much in use and delight among the Kings of those *Eastern* Countries. *Strabo* describing *Jerico*, says, *Ibi est palmetum, cui immixte sunt, etiam alia stirpes hortenses, locus ferax, palmis abundans, spatio stadiorum centum, totus irriguus, ibi est Regia & Balsami Paradisus.* He mentions another place, to be *prope Libanum & Paradisum.* And *Alexander* is written to have seen *Cyrus*'s Tomb in a Paradise, being a Tower not very great, and covered with a shade of Trees about it. So that a Paradise among them seems to have been a large space of Ground, adorned and beautified with all sorts of Trees, both of Fruits and of Forest, either found there before it was inclosed,

incloſed, or planted after; either cultivated like Gardens, for Shades and for Walks, with Fountains or Streams, and all ſorts of Plants uſual in the Climat, and pleaſant to the Eye, the Smell, or the Taſt; or elſe employed, like our Parks, for Incloſure and Harbor of all ſorts of Wild Beaſts, as well as for the pleaſure of riding and walking: And ſo they were of more or leſs extent, and of differing entertainment, according to the ſeveral Humours of the Princes that ordered and incloſed them.

Semiramis is the firſt we are told of in Story, that brought them in uſe through Her Empire, and was ſo fond of them, as to make one where ever ſhe built, and in all, or moſt of the Provinces ſhe ſubdued, which are ſaid to have been from *Babylon* as far as *India*. The *Aſſyrian* Kings continued this Cuſtom and Care, or rather this Pleaſure, till one of them brought in the uſe of ſmaller and more regular Gardens; For having married a Wife he was fond of, out of one of the Provinces, where ſuch Paradiſes or Gardens were much in uſe, and the Country Lady not well bearing the Air or Incloſure of the Palace in *Babylon* to which the *Aſſyrian* Kings uſed to confine themſelves, He made Her Gardens, not only within

within the Palace, but upon Terraſes raiſed with Earth, over the arched Roofs, and even upon the top of the higheſt Tower, planted them with all ſorts of Fruit-Trees, as well as other Plants and Flowers, the moſt pleaſant of that Country, and thereby made at leaſt the moſt airy Gardens, as well as the moſt coſtly, that have been heard of in the World. This Lady may probably have been Native of the Provinces of *Chaſimir*, or of *Damaſcus*, which have in all times been the happieſt Regions for Fruits of all the *Eaſt*, by the Excellence of Soyl, the poſition of Mountains, the frequency of Streams, rather than the Advantages of Climat. And 'tis great pity we do not yet ſee the Hiſtory of *Chaſimir*, which *Mounſieur Bernier* aſſured me, He had tranſlated out of *Perſian*, and intended to publiſh, and of which he has given ſuch a taſt, in his excellent Memoirs, of the *Mogul*'s Country.

The next Gardens we read of, are thoſe of *Solomon*, planted with all ſorts of Fruit-Trees, and watered with Fountains; and though we have no more particular Deſcription of them, yet we may find, they were the Places where He paſſed the times of his Leiſure and Delight, where the Houſes as well as Grounds,

Grounds, were adorned with all that could be of pleasing and elegant, and were the Retreats and Entertainments of those among his Wives that He loved the best; and 'tis not improbable, that the Paradises mentioned by *Strabo*, were planted by this great and wisest King. But the Idea of the Garden must be very great, if it answers at all to that of the Gardener, who must have employed a great deal of His Care and of His Study, as well as of His Leisure and Thought in these Entertainments, since He writ of all Plants, from the Cedar to the Shrub.

What the Gardens of the *Hesperides* were, we have little or no account, further than the mention of them, and thereby the Testimony of their having been in use and request, in such remoteness of place, and Antiquity of Time.

The Garden of *Alcinous*, described by *Homer*, seems wholly Poetical, and made at the pleasure of the Painter, like the rest of the Romantick Palace, in that little barren Island of *Phaecia* or *Corfu*. Yet as all the pieces of this transcendent Genius, are composed with excellent Knowledge, as well as Fancy; so they seldom fail of Instruction as well as Delight, to all that read Him. The Seat of this Garden, joyning to the Gates of

the

the Palace, the compaſs of the Incloſure, being Four Acres, the tall Trees of Shade, as well as thoſe of Fruit, the two Fountains, one for the uſe of the Garden, and the other of the Palace, the continual Succeſſion of Fruits throughout the whole Year, are, for ought I know, the beſt Rules or Proviſions, that can go towards compoſing the beſt Gardens; nor is it unlikely, that *Homer* may have drawn this Picture after the life of ſome he had ſeen in *Ionia*, the Country and uſual Abode of this Divine Poet; and indeed the Region of the moſt refined Pleaſures and Luxury, as well as Invention and Wit: For the humour and cuſtom of Gardens may have deſcended earlier into the lower *Aſia*, from *Damaſcus*, *Aſſyria*, and other parts of the *Eaſtern* Empires, though they ſeem to have made late Entrance, and ſmaller Improvement in thoſe of *Greece* and *Rome*, at leaſt in no proportion to their other Inventions or Refinements of Pleaſure and Luxury.

The long and flouriſhing Peace of the two firſt Empires, gave earlier riſe and growth to Learning and Civility, and all the Conſequences of them, in Magnificence and Elegancy of Building and Gardening; whereas *Greece* and *Rome*

were almoſt perpetually engaged in Quarrels and Wars, either abroad or at home, and ſo were buſie in Actions, that were done under the Sun, rather than thoſe under the Shade. Theſe were the Entertainments of the ſofter Nations, that fell under the Virtue and Proweſs of the two laſt Empires, which from thoſe Conqueſts brought home mighty Increaſes both of Riches and Luxury, and ſo perhaps loſt more than they got by the Spoils of the *Eaſt*.

There may be another reaſon for the ſmall advance of Gardening in thoſe excellent and more temperate Climats, where the Air and Soyl were ſo apt of themſelves to produce the beſt ſorts of Fruits, without the neceſſity of cultivating them by labour and care; whereas the hotter Climats, as well as the cold, are forced upon Induſtry and Skill, to produce or improve many Fruits that grow of themſelves in the more temperate Regions. However it were, we have very little mention of Gardens in old *Greece*, or in old *Rome*, for pleaſure or with Elegance, nor of much curiouſneſs or care, to introduce the Fruits of Foreign Climats, contenting themſelves with thoſe, which were Native of their own, and theſe were the Vine, the

Olive,

Olive, the Fig, the Pear, and the Apple; *Cato*, as I remember, mentions no more, and their Gardens were then but the neceſſary part of their Farms, intended particularly for the cheap and eaſie Food of their Hinds or Slaves, imployed in their Agriculture, and ſo were turned chiefly to all the common ſorts of Plants, Herbs, or Legumes, (as the *French* call them) proper for common nouriſhment; and the name of *Hortus* is taken to be from *Ortus*, becauſe it perpetually furniſhes ſome riſe or production of ſomething new in the World.

Lucullus, after the *Mithridatick* War, firſt brought Cherries from *Pontus* into *Italy*, which ſo generally pleas'd, and were ſo eaſily propagated in all Climats, that within the ſpace of about an hundred years, having travelled *Weſtward* with the *Roman* Conqueſts, they grew common as far as the *Rhine*, and paſſed over into *Britain*. After the Conqueſt of *Africk*, *Greece*, the leſſer *Aſia*, and *Syria*, were brought into *Italy*, all the ſorts of their *Mala*, which we interpret Apples, and might ſignifie no more at firſt, but were afterwards applied to many other Foreign Fruits: The Apricocks coming from *Epire*, were called *Mala Epirotica*;

Peaches from *Persia*, *Mala Persica*; Citrons from *Media*, *Medica*; Pomgranets from *Carthage*, *Punica*; Quinces *Cathonea*, from a small Island in the *Grecian* Seas; their best Pears were brought from *Alexandria*, *Numidia*, *Greece* and *Numantia*, as appears by their several Appellations: Their Plums, from *Armenia*, *Syria*, but chiefly from *Damascus*. The kinds of these are reckon'd in *Nero's* time, to have been near Thirty, as well as of Figs, and many of them were entertained at *Rome* with so great Applause, and so general Vogue, that the great Captains, and even Consular Men, who first brought them over, took pride in giving them their own Names, (by which they run a great while in *Rome*) as in memory of some great Service or Pleasure they had done their Country; so that not only Laws and Battels, but several sorts of Apples or *Mala*, and of Pears, were called *Manlian* and *Claudian*, *Pompeyan* and *Tiberian*, and by several other such Noble Names.

Thus the Fruits of *Rome*, in about an hundred years, came from Countries as far as their Conquests had reached, and like Learning, Architecture, Painting and Statuary, made their great advances in *Italy*, about the *Augustan* Age. What was

of

of moſt requeſt, in their common Gardens, in *Virgil*'s time, or at leaſt in His Youth, may be conjectured, by the Deſcription of His old *Corycian*'s Garden, in the Fourth of the Georgicks, which begins,

Namq; ſub Oebaliæ memini me turribus altis.

Among Flowers, the Roſes had the firſt place, eſpecially a kind which bore twice a year; and none other ſorts are here mention'd beſides the *Narciſſus*, tho the Violet and the Lilly were very common, and the next in eſteem, eſpecially the *Breve Lilium*, which was the *Tuberenſe*. The Plants he mentions, are the *Apium*, which tho commonly interpreted *Parſly*, yet comprehends all ſorts of Smallage, whereof Sellary is one, *Cucumis*, which takes in all ſorts of Melons, as well as Cucumbers; *Olus*, which is a common Word for all ſorts of Potherbs and Legumes; *Verbenas*, which ſignifies all kinds of Sweet or Sacred Plants, that were uſed for adorning the Altars, as Bays, Olive, Roſemary, Mirtle; the *Acantus* ſeems to be what we call *Pericanthe*; but what their *Hederæ* were, that deſerved place in a Garden, I cannot gueſs, unleſs they had ſorts of Ivy

unknown to us; nor what His *Veſcum Papaver* was, ſince Poppies with us are of no uſe in eating, The Fruits mentioned, are only Apples, Pears, and Plums; for Olives, Vines, and Figs, were grown to be Fruits of their Fields, rather than of their Gardens. The Shades were the Elm, the Pine, the Lime-Tree, and the *Platanus*, or Plane-tree, whoſe Leaf and Shade, of all others, was the moſt in requeſt; and having been brought out of *Perſia*, was ſuch an Inclination among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that they uſually fed it with Wine inſtead of Water; they believed this Tree loved that Liquor, as well as thoſe that uſed to drink under its Shade; which was a great humour and cuſtom, and perhaps gave riſe to the other, by obſerving the growth of the Tree, or largeneſs of the Leafs, where much Wine was ſpilt or left, and thrown upon the Roots.

'Tis great pity the haſt which *Virgil* ſeems here to have been in, ſhould have hindered him from entring farther into the Account or Inſtructions of Gardening, which he ſaid he could have given, and which he ſeems to have ſo much eſteemed and loved, by that admirable Picture of this old Man's Felicity, which he draws, like ſo great a Maſter, with

one

one ſtroke of a Pencil, in thoſe Four Words:

Regum æquabat opes animis.

That in the midſt of theſe ſmall Poſſeſſions, upon a few Acres of barren ground, yet He equalled all the Wealth and Opulence of Kings, in the Eaſe, Content, and Freedom of His Mind.

I am not ſatisfied with the common Acception of the *Mala Aurea*, for Oranges; nor do I find any paſſage in the Authors of that Age, which gives me the Opinion, that theſe were otherwiſe known to the *Romans* than as fruits of the *Eaſtern* Climats. I ſhould take their *Mala Aurea* to be rather ſome kind of Apples, ſo called from the golden Colour, as ſome are amongſt us; for otherwiſe, the Orange-tree is too Noble, in the beauty, taſt and ſmell of its Fruit, in the Perfume and Virtue of its Flowers, in the perpetual Verdure of its Leaves, and in the excellent uſes of all theſe, both for Pleaſure and Health, not to have deſerved any particular mention in the Writings of an Age and Nation, ſo refined and exquiſite in all ſorts of delicious Luxury.

The charming deſcription *Virgil* makes

of the Happy Apple, must be intended either for the Citron, or for some sort of Orange growing in *Media*, which was either so proper to that Country, as not to grow in any other (as a certain sort of Fig was to *Damascus*) or to have lost its Virtue by changing Soyls, or to have had its effect of curing some sort of Poyson that was usual in that Country, but particular to it: I cannot forbear inserting those few Lines, out of the second of *Virgil's* Georgicks, not having ever heard any body else take notice of them.

Media *fert tristes succos tardumq; saporem*
Fœlicis Mali, quo non præsentibus ullam,
Pocula si quando sæva infecere Noverca,
Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena;
Ipsa ingens arbos, faciemq; similima lauro,
Et si non alios late jactaret odores,
Laurus erit, folia haud ullis labentia ventis,
Flos apprima tenax, animas & olentia Medi
Ora fovent illo, at senibus medicantur anhelis.

Media *brings poys'nous herbs, and the flat taste*
Of the blest Apple, than which ne're was found
A help more present, when curst Stepdames mix
Their mortal Cups, to drive the Venom out.

'Tis

'Tis a large Tree, and like a Bays in hue,
And did it not such Odours cast about,
'Twould be a Bays, the leafs with no winds fall,
The Flowers all excel; with these the Medes
Perfume their Breaths, and cure old pursie Men.

The Tree being so like a Bays or Lawrel, the slow or dull taft of the Apple, the Virtue of it against Poyson, seem to describe the Citron. The Perfume of the Flowers and Virtues of them, to cure ill Sents of Mouth or Breath, or shortness of Wind in pursie old Men, seem to agree most with the Orange: If *Flos apprima tenax*, mean only the Excellence of the Flower above all others, it may be intended for the Orange: If it signifies the Flowers growing most upon the tops of the Trees, it may be rather the Citron; for I have been so curious as to bring up a Citron from a Kernel, which at twelve years age, began to flower; and I observed all the Flowers to grow upon the top Branches of the Tree, but to be nothing so high or sweet-sented, as the Orange. On the other side, I have always heard Oranges to pass for a Cordial Juyce, and a great preservative against the Plague, which is a sort of Venom;

so

ſo that I know not to which of theſe we are to aſcribe this lovely Picture of the Happy Apple; but I am ſatisfied by it, that neither of them was at all common, if at all known in *Italy*, at that time, or long after, though the Fruit be now ſo frequent there in Fields (at leaſt in ſome parts) and make ſo common and delicious a part of Gardening, even in theſe *Northern* Climats.

'Tis certain thoſe noble Fruits, the Citron, the Orange, and the Lemmon, are the Native product of thoſe noble Regions, *Aſſyria*, *Media*, and *Perſia*; and tho they have been from thence tranſplanted and propagated in many parts of *Europe*, yet they have not arrived at ſuch perfection in Beauty, Taſt or Virtue, as in their Native Soyland Climat. This made it generally obſerved among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, That the Fruits of the *Eaſt* far excelled thoſe of the *Weſt*. And ſeveral Writers have trifled away their time in deducing the reaſons of this difference, from the more benign or powerful Influences of the Riſing Sun. But there is nothing more evident to any man that has the leaſt knowledge of the Globe, and gives himſelf leave to think, than the folly of ſuch wiſe Reaſons ſince the Regions that are *Eaſt* to us, are

Weſt

West to some others; and the Sun arises alike to all that lye in the same Latitude, with the same Heat and Virtue upon its first approaches, as well as in its Progress. Besides, if the *Eastern* Fruits were the better only for that Position of Climat; then those of *India* should excel those of *Persia*, which we do not find by comparing the accounts of those Countries; but *Assyria*, *Media*, and *Persia*, have been ever esteemed, and will be ever found the true Regions of the best and noblest Fruits in the World. The reason of it can be no other, than that of an excellent and proper Soyl, being there extended under the best Climat for the Production of all sorts of the best Fruits, which seems to be from about Twenty five, to about Thirty five degrees of Latitude. Now the Regions under this Climat in the present *Persian* Empire (which comprehends most of the other two, called anciently *Assyria* and *Media*) are composed of many Provinces full of great and fertile Plains, bounded by high Mountains, especially to the *North*, watered naturally with many Rivers, and those by Art and Labour derived into many more and smaller Streams, which all conspire to form a Country in all circumstances the

most

most proper and agreeable for Production of the best and noblest Fruits. Whereas if we survey the Regions of the *Western* World, lying in the same Latitude between Twenty five and thirty five Degrees, we shall find them extended either over the *Mediterranean* Sea, the Ocean, or the Sandy barren Countries of *Africa*; and that no part of the Continent of *Europe* lies so *Southward* as Thirty five Degrees. Which may serve to discover the true genuine Reason, why the Fruits of the *East* have been always observed and agreed to transcend those of the *West*.

In our *North-West* Climats, our Gardens are very different from what they were in *Greece* and *Italy*, and from what they are now in those Regions in *Spain*, or the *Southern* parts of *France*. And as most general Customs in Countries grow from the different nature of Climats, Soyls, or Scituations, and from the necessities or industry they impose, so do these.

In the warmer Regions, Fruits and Flowers of the best sorts are so common, and of so easie Production, that they grow in Fields, and are not worth the cost of incloſing, or the care of more than ordinary cultivating. On the other side, the great Pleasures of those Climats

are

are coolneſs of Air, and whatever looks cool even to the Eyes, and relieves them from the unpleaſant ſight of duſty Streets, or parch'd Fields. This makes the Gardens of thoſe Countries to be chiefly valued by largeneſs of Extent (which gives greater play and openneſs of Air) by Shades of Trees, by frequency of living Streams or Fountains, by Perſpectives, by Statues, and by Pillars and Obelisks of Stone ſcattered up and down, which all conſpire to make any place look freſh and cool. On the contrary, the more *Northern* Climats, as they ſuffer little by Heat, make little Proviſion againſt it, and are careleſs of Shade, and ſeldom curious in Fountains. Good Statues are in the reach of few Men, and common ones are generally and juſtly deſpiſed or neglected. But no ſorts of good Fruits or Flowers, being Natives of the Climats, or uſual among us, (nor indeed the beſt ſort of Plants, Herbs, Sallads for our Kitchin Gardens themſelves) and the beſt Fruits not ripening without the advantage of Walls or Paliſades, by reflection of the faint Heat we receive from the Sun, our Gardens are made of ſmaller Compaſs, ſeldom exceeding four, ſix, or eight Acres, incloſed with Walls, and laid out in a manner

wholly for advantage of Fruits, Flowers, and the product of Kitchin Gardens in all sorts of Herbs, Sallads, Plants and Legumes, for the common use of Tables.

These are usually the Gardens of *England* and *Holland*, as the first sort are those of *Italy*, and were so of old. In the more temperate parts of *France*, and in *Brabant* (where I take Gardening to be at its greatest heighth) they are compos'd of both sorts, the extent more spacious than ours, part laid out for Flowers, others for Fruits, some Standards, some against Walls or Palisades, some for Forest Trees and Groves for Shade, some parts wild, some exact, and Fountains much in request among them.

But after so much ramble into Ancient Times, and remote Places, to return home and consider the present way and humour of our Gardening in *England*, which seem to have grown into such Vogue, and to have been so mightily improved, in three or four and twenty years of His Majesty's Reign, that perhaps few Countries are before us, either in the Elegance of our Gardens, in the number of our Plants; and I believe none equals us in the Variety of Fruits, which may justly be called good; and from the earliest Cherry and Strawberry,

to

to the laſt Apples and Pears, may furniſh every day of the circling year. For the Taſt and Perfection of what we eſteem the beſt, I may truly ſay, that the *French* who have eaten my Peaches and Grapes at *Sheene* in no very ill year, have generally concluded, that the laſt are as good as any they have eaten in *France* on this ſide *Fointainbleau*; and the firſt as good as any they have eat in *Gaſcony*; I mean thoſe which come from the ſtone, and are properly called Peaches, not thoſe which are hard, and are termed Pavies; for theſe cannot grow in too warm a Climat, nor ever be good in a cold, and are better at *Madrid* than in *Gaſcony* it ſelf: *Italians* have agreed, my White Figs to be as good as any of that ſort in *Italy*, which is the earlier kind of White Fig there; for in the later kind, and the blue, we cannot come near the warm Climats, no more than in the *Frontignac* or *Muſcat* Grape.

My Orange-trees are as large as any I ſaw, when I was young in *France*, except thoſe of *Fountainbleau*, or what I have ſeen ſince in the Low Countries, except ſome very old ones of the Prince of *Orange*'s; as laden with Flowers as any can well be, as full of Fruit as I ſuffer or deſire them, and as well taſted

as

as are commonly brought over, except the best sorts of *Sevil* and *Portugal*. And thus much I could not but say, in defence of our Climat, which is so much and so generally decried abroad, by those who never saw it, or if they have been here, have yet perhaps seen no more of it, than what belongs to Inns, or to Taverns and Ordinaries, who accuse our Country for their own Defaults, and speak ill, not only of our Gardens and Houses, but of our Humours, our Breeding, our Customs and Manners of Life, by what they have observed of the meaner and baser sort of Mankind, and of Company among us, because they wanted themselves perhaps either Fortune or Birth, either Quality or Merit, to introduce them among the good.

I must needs add one thing more in favour of our Climat, which I heard the King say, and I thought new and right, and truly like a King of *England* that loved and esteemed His own Country: 'Twas in reply to some of the Company that were reviling our Climat, and extolling those of *Italy* and *Spain*, or at least of *France*; He said, He thought that was the best Climat, where He could be abroad in the Air with Plea-

sure,

sure, or at least without Trouble and Inconvenience, the most days of the Year, and the most hours of the Day; and this He thought He could be in *England*, more than in any Country He knew of in *Europe*. And I believe it is true, not only of the hot and the cold, but even among our Neighbours in *France* and the Low-Countries themselves, where the Heats or the Colds, and Changes of Seasons, are less treatable than they are with us.

The truth is, our Climat wants no Heat to produce excellent Fruits; and the Default of it, is only the short Season of our Heats or Summers, by which many of the later are left behind and imperfect with us. But all such as are ripe before the end of *August*, are for ought I know, as good with us as any where else. This makes me esteem the true Region of Gardens in *England* to be the compass of Ten Miles about *London*; where the accidental warmth of Air, from the Fires and Steams of so vast a Town, makes Fruits as well as Corn a great deal forwarder than in *Hampshire* or *Wiltshire*, though more *Southward* by a full Degree.

There are, besides the Temper of our Climat, two things particular to us,

that contribute much to the Beauty and Elegance of our Gardens, which are the Gravel of our Walks, and the fineneſs and almoſt perpetual Greeneſs of our Turf. The firſt is not known any where elſe, which leaves all their dry Walks in other Countries very unpleaſant and uneaſie. The other cannot be found in *France* or in *Holland* as we have it, the Soyl not admitting that fineneſs of Blade in *Holland*, nor the Sun that Greenneſs in *France* during moſt of the Summer; nor indeed is it to be found but in the fineſt of our Soyls.

Who ever begins a Garden, ought in the firſt place, and above all, to conſider the Soyl, upon which the caſt of not only His Fruits, but His Legumes, and even Herbs and Sallads, will wholly depend, and the default of Soyl is without remedy; for although all Borders of Fruit may be made with what Earth you pleaſe (if you will be at the charge) yet it muſt be renewed in two or three years, or it runs into the nature of the Ground where 'tis brought. Old Trees ſpread their Roots further than any Bodies Care extends, or the Forms of the Garden will allow; and after all, where the Soyl about you is ill, the Air is ſo too in a Degree, and has Influence upon

upon the taſt of Fruit. What *Horace* ſays of the productions of Kitchin Gardens under the Name of *Caulis*, is true of all the beſt ſorts of Fruits, and may determine the choice of Soyl for all Gardens.

Caule ſuburbano qui ſiccis crevit in agris
Dulcior, irriguis nihil eſt elutius hortis.

Plants from dry Fields thoſe of the Town excel,
Nothing more taſtleſs is than water'd grounds.

Any man had better throw away his Care and his Mony upon any thing elſe, than upon a Garden in wet or moiſt Ground. Peaches and Grapes will have no taſt but upon a Sand or Gravel; but the richer theſe are the better; and neither Sallads, Peaſe, or Beans, have at all the taſt upon a Clay or rich Earth, as they have upon either of the others, tho the Size and Colour of Fruits and Plants may perhaps be more upon the worſe Soyls.

Next to your choice of Soyl, is to ſuit your Plants to your Ground, ſince of this every one is not Maſter; though perhaps *Varro*'s Judgment upon this

case, is the wiſeſt and the beſt: For to one that asked him, What he ſhould do, if His Father or Anceſtors had left him a Seat in an ill Air, or upon an ill Soyl? He answered, Why ſell it and buy another in good. But what if I cannot get half the worth? Why then take a quarter, but however ſell it, or any thing rather than live upon it.

Of all ſorts of Soyl, the beſt is that upon a Sandy Gravel, or a Roſiny Sand, whoever lies upon either of theſe, may run boldly into all the beſt ſort of Peaches and Grapes, how ſhallow ſoever the Turf be upon them; and whatever other Tree will thrive in theſe Soyls, the Fruit ſhall be of much finer taſt than any other: A richer Soyl will do well enough for Apricocks, Plums, Pears or Figs; but ſtill the more of the Sand in your Earth the better, and the worſe the more of the Clay, which is proper for Oaks, and no other Tree that I know of.

Fruits ſhould be ſuited to the Climate among us, as well as the Soyl, for there are degrees of one and the other in *England*, where 'tis to little purpoſe to plant any of the beſt Fruits, as Peaches or Grapes, hardly I doubt beyond *Northamptonſhire* at the furtheſt *Northwards*; and I thought it very prudent

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in a Gentleman of my Friends in *Staffordshire*, who is a great lover of His Garden, to pretend no higher, though His Soyl be good enough, than to the perfection of Plums, and in these (by bestowing South walls upon them) He has very well succeeded, which He could never have done in attempts upon Peaches and Grapes; and a good Plum is certainly better than an ill Peach.

When I was at *Cosevelt* with that Bishop of *Munster*, that made so much noise in His time, I observed no other Trees but Cherries in a great Garden He had made. He told me the reason was, Because He found no other Fruit would ripen well in that Climat, or upon that Soyl, and therefore in stead of being curious in others, He had only been so, in the sorts of that, whereof He had so many, as never to be without them from *May* to the end of *September*.

As to the size of a Garden, which will perhaps in time grow extravagant among us, I think from four or five to seven or eight Acres, is as much as any Gentleman need design, and will furnish as much of all that is expected from it, as any Nobleman will have occasion to use in His Family.

In every Garden four things are ne-

ceſſary to be provided for, Flowers, Fruit, Shade, and Water; and whoever lays out a Garden without all theſe, muſt not pretend it in any perfection. It ought to lie to the beſt parts of the Houſe, or to thoſe of the Maſter's commoneſt uſe, ſo as to be but like one of the Rooms out of which you ſtep into another. The part of your Garden next your Houſe, (beſides the Walks that go round it) ſhould be a Parterre for Flowers, or Graſs-plots bordered with Flowers; or if, according to the neweſt mode, it be caſt all into Graſs-plots and Gravel Walks, the drineſs of theſe ſhould be relieved with Fountains, and the plainneſs of thoſe with Statues; otherwiſe, if large, they have an ill effect upon the Eye. However, the part next the Houſe ſhould be open, and no other Fruit but upon the Walls. If this take up one half of the Garden, the other ſhould be Fruit-Trees, unleſs ſome Grove for Shade lie in the middle. If it take up a third part only, then the next third may be Dwarf-Trees, and the laſt Standard Fruit; or elſe the Second Part Fruit-trees, and the third all ſorts of Winter greens, which provide for all Seaſons of the year.

I will not enter upon any account of

Flowers, having only pleased my self with seeing or smelling them, and not troubled my self with the Care, which is more the Ladies part than the Mens, but the Success is wholly in the Gardner. For Fruits, the best we have in *England*, or I believe can ever hope for, are, of Peaches, the *White* and *Red Mandlin*, the *Minion*, the *Chevreuse*, the *Rambouillet*, the *Musk*, the *Admirable* which is late, all the rest are either varified by Names, or not to be named with these, nor worth troubling a Garden, in my Opinion. Of the *Pavies* or Hard Peaches, I know none good here but the *Newington*, nor will that easily hang till 'tis full ripe. The forward Peaches are to be esteemed only because they are early, but yet should find room in a good Garden, at least, the White and Brown Nutmeg, the *Persian*, and the Violet Musk. The only good Nectorins are the Murry and the *French*; of these there are two sorts, one very round, the other something long, but the round is the best: Of the Murry there are several sorts, but being all hard, they are seldom well ripened with us.

Of Grapes, the best are the *Chasselas*, which is the better sort of our White Muscadin, (as the usual Name was); about

bout *Sheen*, 'tis called the Pearl Grape, and ripens well enough in common years, but not so well as the common Black or Gutt and, which is something a worse Grape. The Parsly is good and proper enough to our Climat, but all white *Frontiniacks* are difficult, and seldom ripe unless in extraordinary Summers. I have had the Honour of bringing over four sorts into *England*; the *Muscat bosse* from the *Franche Conte*, which is a small white Grape, or rather runs into some small and some great upon the same Bunch; it agrees well with our Climat, but is very choice in Soyl, and must have a sharp Gravel; it is the most delicious of all Grapes that are not Muscat. The *Burgundy*, which is a grizelin or pale red, and of all others is surest to ripen in our Climat, so that I have never known them to fail one Summer these fifteen years, when all others have, and have had it very good upon an *East* Wall. The Black Muscat, which is called the *Doiager*, and ripens as well as the common White Grape. And the fourth is the *Grizelin Frontignat*, being of that Colour, and the highest of that Taste, and the noblest of all Grapes I ever eat in *England*, but requires the hottest Wall and the sharpest Gravel, and must be favour-

favoured by the Summer too, to be very good. All these are, I suppose, by this time, pretty common among some Gardners in my Neighbourhood, as well as several Persons of Quality; for I have ever thought all things of this kind, the commoner they are made, the better.

Of Figs there are among us the White, the Blue, and the Tawny: The last is very small, bears ill, and I think but a Bawble. Of the Blew there are two or three sorts, but little different, one something longer than the other; but that kind which swells most is ever the best. Of the White I know but two sorts, and both excellent, one ripe in the beginning of *July*, the other in the end of *September*, and is yellower than the first; but this is hard to be found among us, and difficult to raise, though an excellent Fruit.

Of Apricocks the best are the common old sort, and the largest Masculin, of which this last is much improved by budding upon a Peach Stock. I esteem none of this Fruit but the *Brussels* Apricock, which grows a Standard, and is one of the best Fruits we have, and which I first brought over among us.

The number of good Pears, eſpecially Summer, is very great, but the beſt are the Blanquet, Robin, Rouſſelet, Roſati, Sans Pepin, Jargonell. Of the Autumn, the Buree, the Vertelongne, and the Bergamot. Of the Winter, the Vergoluz, Chaſſeray, St. Michael, St. Germain, and Ambret: I eſteem the Bon-Cretien with us good for nothing but to bake.

Of Plums the beſt are St. Julian, St. Catharine, white and blew Pedrigon, Queen-mother, Sheen-Plum, and Cheſton.

Beyond the ſorts I have named, none I think need trouble Himſelf, but multiply theſe, rather than make room for more kinds; and I am content to leave this Regiſter, having been ſo often deſired it by my Friends upon their deſigns of Gardning.

I need ſay nothing of Apples, being ſo well known among us; but the beſt of our Climat, and I believe of all others, is the Golden Pippin, and for all ſorts of uſes: The next is the Kentiſh Pippin; but theſe I think are as far from their perfection with us as Grapes, and yield to thoſe of *Normandy*, as theſe to thoſe in *Anjou*, and even theſe to thoſe in *Gaſcony*.

Gascony. In other Fruits the defect of Sun is in a great measure supplied by the advantage of Walls.

The next care to that of suiting Trees with the Soyl, is that of suiting Fruits to the Position of Walls. Grapes, Peaches, and Winter Pears to be good, must be planted upon full South or South-east; Figs are best upon South-east, but will do well upon East, and South-West: The West are proper for Cherries, Plums or Apricocks, but all of them are improved by a South Wall both as to early and taste: North, North-West, or North-East deserve nothing but Greens; these should be divided by Woodbines or Jessemins between every Green, and the other Walls, by a Vine between every Fruit-Tree; the best sorts upon the South-Walls, the common White and Black upon East and West, because the other Trees being many of them (especially Peaches) very transitory, some apt to die with hard Winters, others to be cut down and make room for new Fruits: Without this method the Walls are left for several Years unfurnished; whereas the Vines on each side cover the void space in one Summer, and when the other Trees are grown, make

only a Pillar between them of two or three Foot broad.

Whoever would have the beſt Fruits in the moſt perfection our Climat will allow, ſhould not only take care of giving them as much Sun, but alſo as much Air as he can; no Tree, unleſs Dwarf, ſhould be ſuffered to grow within Forty Foot of your beſt Walls, but the farther they lie open, is ſtill the better. Of all others this Care is moſt neceſſary in Vines, which are obſerved abroad to make the beſt Wines, where they lie upon ſides of Hills, and ſo moſt expoſed to the Air and the Winds. The way of pruning them too, is beſt learnt from the Vineyards, where you ſee nothing in Winter, but what looks like a dead ſtump; and upon our Walls they ſhould be left but like a ragged Staff, not above two or three Eyes at moſt upon the Bearing Branches; and the lower the Vine, and fewer the Branches, the Grapes will be ſtill the better.

The beſt Figure of a Garden is either a Square or an Oblong, and either upon a Flat or a Deſcent; they have all their Beauties, but the beſt I eſteem an Oblong upon a Deſcent. The Beauty, the Air, the View make amends for the

expence

expence, which is very great in finishing and supporting the Terras-walks, in levelling the Parterres, and in the stone-Stairs that are necessary from one to the other.

The perfectest Figure of a Garden I ever saw, either at home or abroad, was that of *Moor-Park* in *Hartfordshire*, when I knew it about thirty years ago. It was made by the Countess of *Bedford*, esteemed among the greatest Wits of Her time, and celebrated by Doctor *Donne*; and with very great Care, excellent Contrivance, and much Cost; but greater Sums may be thrown away without Effect or Honour, if there want Sense in proportion to Mony, or if Nature be not followed, which I take to be the great Rule in this, and perhaps in every thing else, as far as the Conduct not only of our Lives, but our Governments. And whether the greatest of mortal Men should attempt the forcing of Nature, may best be judged, by observing how seldom God Almighty does it Himself, by so few true and undisputed Miracles, as we see or hear of in the World. For my own part, I know not three wiser Precepts for the Conduct either of Princes or private Men, than

-------- Servare Modum, Finemq; tueri, Naturamq; ſequi.

Becauſe I take the Garden I have named, to have been in all kinds the moſt beautiful and perfect, at leaſt in the Figure and Diſpoſition, that I have ever ſeen, I will deſcribe it for a Model to thoſe that meet with ſuch a Situation, and are above the regards of common Expence. It lies on the ſide of a Hill, (upon which the Houſe ſtands) but not very ſteep. The length of the Houſe, where the beſt Rooms, and of moſt uſe or pleaſure are, lies upon the breadth of the Garden, the great Parlour opens into the middle of a Terras Gravel-walk that lies even with it, and which may be as I remember about three hundred Paces long, and broad in Proportion, the Border ſet with Standard Lawrels, and at large diſtances, which have the Beauty of Orange-Trees out of Flower and Fruit; from this Walk are three Deſcents by many ſtone Steps in the middle and at each end, into a very large Parterre. This is divided into Quarters by Gravel-Walks, and adorned with two Fountains and eight Statues

tues in the ſeveral Quarters; at the end of the Terras-Walk are two Summer-Houſes, and the ſides of the Parterre are ranged with two large Cloyſters open to the Garden, upon Arches of Stone, and ending with two other Summer-Houſes even with the Cloyſters, which are paved with Stone, and deſigned for Walks of Shade, there being none other in the whole Parterre. Over theſe two Cloyſters are two Terraſſes covered with Lead, and fenced with Baluſters, and the Paſſage into theſe Airy Walks is out of the two Summer-Houſes at the end of the firſt Terras-walk. The Cloyſter facing the South is covered with Vines, and would have been proper for an Orange-houſe, and the other for Myrtles, or other more common Greens, and had, I doubt not, been caſt for that purpoſe, if this piece of Gardning had been then in as much Vogue as it is now.

From the middle of this Parterre is a deſcent by many ſteps flying on each ſide of a Grotto that lies between them (covered with Lead and Flat) into the lower Garden, which is all Fruit-trees ranged about the ſeveral Quarters of a Wilderneſs which is very ſhady; the

Walks here are all Green, the Grotto imbelish'd with Figures of Shell-Rock-work, Fountains and Water-works. If the Hill had not ended with the lower Garden, and the Wall were not bounded by a common way that goes through the Park, they might have added a third Quarter of all Greens; but this want is supplied by a Garden on the other side the House, which is all of that sort, very wild, shady, and adorned with rough Rock-work and Fountains.

This was *Moor-Park*, when I was acquainted with it, and the sweetest place, I think, that I have seen in my Life, either before or since, at home or abroad; what it is now I can give little account, having passed through several hands that have made great Changes in Gardens as well as House; but, the remembrance of what it was, is too pleasant ever to forget, and therefore I do not believe to have mistaken the Figure of it, which may serve for a Pattern to the best Gardens of our manner, and that are most proper for our Country and Climat.

What

What I have said of the best Forms of Gardens, is meant only of such as are in some sort regular; for there may be other Forms wholly irregular, that may, for ought I know, have more Beauty than any of the others; but they must owe it to some extraordinary dispositions of Nature in the Seat, or some great race of Fancy or Judgment in the Contrivance, which may reduce many disagreeing parts into some figure, which shall yet upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have seen in some places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the *Chineses*; a People, whose way of thinking, seems to lie as wide of ours in *Europe*, as their Country does. Among us, the Beauty of Building and Planting is placed chiefly, in some certain Proportions, Symmetries, or Uniformities; our Walks and our Trees ranged so, as to answer one another, and at exact Distances. The *Chineses* scorn this way of Planting, and say a Boy that can tell an hundred, may plant Walks of Trees in strait Lines, and over against one another, and to what Length and Extent he pleases. But their greatest reach of Imagination, is employed

ployed in contriving Figures, where the Beauty shall be great, and strike the Eye, but without any order or disposition of parts; that shall be commonly or easily observ'd. And though we have hardly any Notion of this sort of Beauty, yet they have a particular Word to express it; and where they find it hit their Eye at first sight, they say the *Sharawadgi* is fine or is admirable, or any such expression of Esteem. And whoever observes the Work upon the best Indian Gowns, or the painting upon their best Skreens or Purcellans, will find their Beauty is all of this kind (that is) without order. But I should hardly advise any of these Attempts in the Figure of Gardens among us; they are Adventures of too hard atchievement for any common Hands; and tho there may be more Honour if they succeed well, yet there is more Dishonour if they fail, and 'tis twenty to one they will; whereas in regular Figures, 'tis hard to make any great and remarkable Faults.

The Picture I have met with in some relations of a Garden made by a Dutch Governour of their Colony, upon the Cape *de Buen Esperance* is admirable, and described to be of an Oblong Figure,

very

very large Extent, and divided into four Quarters by long and croſs Walks, ranged with all ſorts of Orange-trees, Lemmons, Limes, and Citrons; each of theſe four Quarters is planted with the Trees, Fruits, Flowers and Plants that are native and proper to each of the four parts of the World; ſo as in this one Incloſure are to be found the ſeveral Gardens of *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africk*, and *America*. There could not be in my mind, a greater Thought of a Gardner, nor a nobler Idea of a Garden, nor better ſuited or choſen for the Climat, which is about Thirty Degrees, and may paſs for the *Heſperides* of our Age, whatever or where-ever the other was. Yet this is agreed by all to have been in the Iſlands or Continent upon the South-Weſt of *Africa*, but what their Forms or their Fruits were, none that I know, pretend to tell; nor whether their Golden Apples were for taſte, or only for ſight, as thoſe of *Montezuma* were in *Mexico*, who had large Trees with Stocks, Branches, Leafs and Fruits, all admirably compoſed and wrought of Gold; but this was only ſtupendious in coſt and art, and anſwers not at all in my

my Opinion, the delicious Varieties of Nature in other Gardens.

What I have said of Gardning, is perhaps enough for any Gentleman to know, so as to make no great Faults, not be much imposed upon in the Designs of that kind, which I think ought to be applauded and encouraged in all Countries. That and Building being a sort of Creation, that raise beautiful Fabricks and Figures out of nothing, that make the Convenience and Pleasure of all private Habitations, that employ many Hands, and Circulate much Money among the poorer sort and Artisans, that are a publick Service to ones Country, by the Example as well as effect, which adorn the Scene, improve the Earth, and even the Air it self in some Degree. The rest that belongs to this Subject, must be a Gardners part, upon whose Skill, Diligence and Care, the Beauty of the Grounds, and Excellence of the Fruits will much depend. Though if the Soyl and Sorts be well chosen, well suited, and disposed to the Walls, the Ignorance or Carelesness of the Servants can hardly leave the Master disappointed.

I will not enter further upon his Trade, than by three short Directions or Advices: First, In all Plantations either for his Master or himself, to draw his Trees out of some Nursery, that is upon a leaner and lighter Soyl than his own where he removes them; without this care they will not thrive in several years, perhaps never, and must make way for new, which should be avoided all that can be; for Life is too short and uncertain, to be renewing often your Plantations. The Walls of your Garden without their Furniture, look as ill as those of your House; so that you cannot dig up your Garden too often, nor too seldom cut it down.

The Second is, In all Trees you raise, to have some regard to the Stock, as well as the Graft or Bud; for the first will have a share in giving Taste and Season to the Fruits it produces, how little soever it is usually observed by our Gardeners. I have found Grafts of the same Tree upon a Bon-cretien-Stock, bring Chasseray Pears, that lasted till *March*, but with a Rind Green and Rough: And others, upon a Metre John Stock, with a smooth and yellow Skin, which were

were Rotten in *November*. I am apt to think, all the difference between the St. Michel and the Ambrette Pear (which has puzzled our Gardners) is only what comes from this Variety of the Stocks; and by this perhaps, as well as by raising from Stones and Kernels, most of the new Fruits are produced every Age. So the Grafting a Crab upon a white Thorn brings the Lazarolli, a Fruit esteemed at *Rome*, tho I do not find it worth Cultivating here; and I believe the Cedrato (or Hermaphrodite) came from Budding a Citron upon an Orange. The best Peaches are raised by Buds of the best Fruits upon Stocks, growing from Stones of the best Peaches; and so the best Apples and Pears, from the best kinds grafted upon Stocks, from Kernels also of the best sorts, with respect to the Season, as well as Beauty and Taste. And I believe so many excellent Winter-Pears as have come into *France* since forty years, may have been found out by Grafting Summer-Pears of the finest taste and most water, upon Winter-Stocks.

The third Advice is, To take the greatest care and pains in preserving your Trees from the worst Disease, to which those of the best Fruits are subject in the best

best Soils, and upon the best Walls. 'Tis what has not been (that I know of) taken notice of with us, till I was forced to observe it by the Experience of my Gardens, though I have since met with it in Books both Ancient and Modern. I found my Vines, Peaches, Apricocks and Plums upon my best South-Walls, and sometimes upon my West, apt for several years to a Soot, or Smuttiness upon their Leafs first, and then upon their Fruits, which were good for nothing the years they were so affected. My Orange-Trees were likewise subject to it, and never prospered while they were so; and I have known some Collections quite destroyed by it. But I cannot say, that I ever found either my Figs or Pears infected with it, nor any Trees upon my East-Walls, though I do not well Conjecture at the reason. The rest were so spoiled with it, that I complained to several of the oldest and best Gardners of *England*, who knew nothing of it, but that they often fell into the same Misfortune, and esteemed it some blight of the Spring. I observed after some years, that the diseased Trees, had very frequent upon their Stocks and Branches, a small Insect of a dark brown

Colour,

Colour, figured like a Shield, and about the size of a large Wheat Corn: They stuck close to the Bark, and in many places covered it, especially about the Joynts: In Winter they are dry, and thin-shell'd, but in Spring they begin to grow Soft, and to fill with Moisture, and throw a Spawn like a black-dust upon the Stocks, as well as the Leafs and Fruits.

I met afterwards with the mention of this Disease as known among Orange-Trees, in a Book written upon that Subject in *Holland*, and since in *Pausanias*, as a thing so much taken notice of in *Greece*, that the Author describes a certain sort of Earth which Cures *Pediculos Vitis*, or, *the Lice of the Vine*. This is of all others, the most pestilent Disease of the best Fruit-trees, and upon the very best Soyls of Gravel and Sand (especially where they are too hungry:) And is so contagious, that it is propagated to new Plants, raised from old Trees that are infected, and spreads to new ones that are planted near them, which makes me imagine that it lies in the Root, and that the best Cure were by Application there. But I have tryed all sorts of Soyl without effect, and can

pre-

scribe no other remedy, than to Prune your Trees as close as you can, especially the rainted Wood; then to wash them very clean with a wet Brush, so as not to leave one Shell upon them that you can discern: And upon your Oranges to pick off every one that you can find, by turning every Leaf, as well as Brushing clean the Stocks and Branches. Without these cares and diligences, you had better root up any Trees that are infected, renew all the Mold in your Borders or Boxes, and Plant new found Trees, rather than suffer the disappointments and vexation of your Old ones.

I may perhaps be allowed to know something of this Trade, since I have so long allowed my self to be good for nothing else, which few Men will do, or enjoy their Gardens, without often looking abroad to see how other matters go, what Motions in the State, and what Invitations they may hope for into other Scenes.

For my own part, as the Country Life, and this part of it more particularly, were the Inclination of my Youth it self, so they are the Pleasure of my Age; and I can truly say, that among many great Employments that have fallen

fallen to my share, I have never asked or sought for any one of them, but often endeavoured to escape from them, into the ease and freedom of a private Scene, where a Man may go his own way and his own Pace, in the common Paths or Circles of Life.

Inter cuncta leges & percunctabere doctos
Qua ratione queas traducere leniter ævum,
Quid curas minuat, quid te tibi reddat amicum,
Quid purè tranquillet, honos an dulce lucellum,
An secretum iter, & fallentis semita vitæ.

But above all, the Learned read and ask
By what means you may gently pass your Age,
What lessens Care, what makes thee thine own Friend,
What truly calms the Mind, Honour or Wealth,
Or else a private path of stealing Life.

These are Questions that a Man ought at least to ask himself, whether he asks others or no, and to choose his course of Life rather by his own Humour and Temper, than by common Accidents, or

or Advice of Friends, at leaſt if the Spaniſh Proverb be true, That a Fool knows more in his own Houſe than a Wiſe Man in anothers.

The meaſure of chooſing well, is, Whether a Man likes what he has choſen, which I thank God has befallen me; and though among the Follies of my Life, Building and Planting have not been the leaſt, and have coſt me more than I have the confidence to own; yet they have been fully recompenſed by the ſweetneſs and ſatisfaction of this Retreat, where ſince my Reſolution taken of never entring again into any Publick Employments, I have paſſed Five Years without ever going once to Town, though I am almoſt in ſight of it, and have a Houſe there always ready to receive me. Nor has this been any ſort of Affectation, as ſome have thought it, but a meer want of Deſire or Humour to make ſo ſmall a Remove; for when I am in this corner I can truly ſay with *Horace*,

Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
Quid ſentire putas, quid credis amice precare?

Sit mihi quod nunc est etiam minus, ut mihi vivam,
Quod superest ævi, si quid superesse volent Dii.
Sit bona librorum, & provisæ frugis in annum
Copia, ne dubiæ fluitem sæpe pendulus horæ,
Hoc satis est orasse Jovem qui donat & aufert.

Me when the cold Digentian *Stream revives,*
What does my Friend believe I think or ask?
Let me yet less possess so I may live
What e're of Life remains, unto my self.
May I have Books enough, and one years store
Not to depend upon each doubtful hour;
This is enough of mighty Jove *to pray,*
Who as He pleases gives and takes away.

That which makes the Cares of Gardning more necessary, or at least more excusable, is, that all Men eat Fruit that can get it, so as the Choice is, only whether one will eat good or ill; and between these the difference is not greater, in point of taste and delicacy, than it is of Health: For the first I will only say, That whoever has used to eat good, will

will do very great penance when he comes to ill: And for the other, I think nothing is more evident, than as ill or unripe Fruit is extreamly unwholsom, and causes so many untimely deaths, or so much sickness about Autumn, in all great Cities where 'tis greedily sold as well as eaten, so no part of Dyet, in any Season, is so healthful, so natural, and so agreeable to the Stomach, as good and well-ripen'd Fruits; for this I make the measure of their being good; and let the Kinds be what they will, if they will not ripen perfectly in our Climat, they are better never planted or never eaten. I can say it for my self at least, and all my Friends, that the Season of Summer Fruits is ever the Season of Health with us, which I reckon from the beginning of *June* to the end of *September*, and for all Sicknesses of the Stomach (from which most others are judged to proceed) I do not think any that are like me, the most subject to them, shall complain, when ever they eat thirty or forty Cherries before Meals, or the like proportion of Strawberries, white Figs, soft Peaches, or Grapes perfectly Ripe. But these after *Michaelmas* I do not think Wholsom with us, unless

attended by ſome fit of hot and dry Weather more than is uſual after that Seaſon; When the Froſts or the Rain have taken them, they grow dangerous, and nothing but the Autumn and Winter-Pears, are to be reckon'd in Seaſon, beſides Apples, which, with Cherries, are of all others the moſt innocent Food, and perhaps the beſt Phyſick. Now whoever will be ſure to eat good Fruit, muſt do it out of a Garden of his own; for beſides the Choice ſo neceſſary in the Sorts, the Soyl, and ſo many other Circumſtances that go to compoſe a good Garden, or produce good Fruits, there is ſomething very nice in gathering them, and chooſing the beſt, even from the ſame Tree. The beſt ſorts of all among us, which I eſteem the white Figs and the ſoft Peaches, will not carry without ſuffering. The beſt Fruit that is bought, has no more of the Maſters Care, than how to raiſe the greateſt gains; His buſineſs is to have as much Fruit as he can upon as few Trees: Whereas the way to have it excellent, is to have but little upon many Trees. So that for all things out of a Garden, either of Sallads or Fruits, a Poor Man will eat better,

that

that has one of his own, than a Rich Man that has none. And this is all I think of, neceſſary and uſeful to be known upon this Subject.

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ESSAY III.

Of Heroick Virtue.

AMONG all the Endowments of Nature, or Improvements of Art, wherein Men have excelled and distinguished themselves most in the World, there are two only that have had the honour of being called Divine, and of giving that Esteem or Appellation to such as possessed them in very eminent Degree, which are, Heroick Virtue, and Poetry. For Prophecy cannot be esteemed any Excellency of Nature or of Art, but where-ever it is true, is an immediate Gift of God, and bestowed according to His Pleasure, and upon Subjects of the meanest Capacity, upon Women or Children, or even things inanimate, as the Stones placed in the High-Priest's Breast-Plate, which were a sacred Oracle among the Jews.

I will leave Poetry to an Eſſay by it ſelf, and dedicate this only to that antiquated Shrine of Heroick Vertue, which however forgotten, or unknown in latter Ages, muſt yet be allowed, to have produced in the World, the advantages moſt valued among Men, and which moſt diſtinguiſh their Underſtandings and their Lives, from the reſt of their fellow Creatures.

Though it be eaſier to deſcribe Heroick Vertue, by the effects and Examples, than by Cauſes or Definitions, yet it may be ſaid to ariſe, from ſome great and native Excellency of Temper or Genius tranſcending the common race of Mankind, in Wiſdom, Goodneſs and Fortitude. Theſe ingredients advantaged by Birth, improved by Education, and aſſiſted by Fortune, ſeem to make that noble compoſition, which gives ſuch a luſtre to thoſe who have poſſeſt it, as made them appear to common eyes, ſomething more than Mortals, and to have been born of ſome mixture, between Divine and Humane Race; To have been honoured and obey'd in their Lives, and after their Deaths bewailed and adored.

The greatneſs of their Wiſdom, appeared in the Excellency of their Inventions; And theſe by the Goodneſs of their Nature, were turned and exerciſed upon ſuch Subjects, as were of general good to Mankind in the common uſes of life, or to their own Countries in the Inſtitutions of ſuch Laws, Orders or Governments, as were of moſt eaſe, ſafety and advantage to Civil Society. Their Valour was imployed, in defending their own Countries from the violence of ill Men at home, or Enemies abroad, in reducing their barbarous Neighbours, to the ſame forms and orders of Civil Lives and Inſtitutions; or in relieving others, from the Cruelties and Oppreſſions of Tyranny and Violence. Theſe are all comprehended, in three Verſes of *Virgil*, deſcribing the bleſſed Seats in *Elyſium*, and thoſe that enjoyed them.

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo.

Here

Have such, as for their Country, wounds
receiv'd,
Or who by Arts invented, Life improv'd,
Or by deserving made themselves renown'd.

And indeed, the Character of Heroick Virtue seems to be in short, The deserving well of Mankind. Where this is chief in design, and great in success, the pretence to a Heroe lies very fair, and can never be allowed without it.

I have said, that this Excellency of Genius must be native, because, it can never grow to any great heigth, if it be only acquired or affected; But it must be ennobled by Birth, to give it more Lustre, Esteem and Authority; it must be cultivated by Education and Instruction, to improve its growth, and direct its end and application; and it must be assisted by Fortune, to preserve it to maturity; because the noblest Spirit or Genius in the World, if it falls, though never so bravely, in its first enterprises, cannot deserve enough of Mankind, to pretend, to so great a reward, as the esteem of Heroick Virtue. And yet perhaps, many a person has dyed, in the first battle or adventure He atchieved,

and

and lies buried in ſilence and oblivion, who had He outlived as many dangers, as *Alexander* did, might have ſhined as bright in Honour and Fame. Now ſince ſo many Stars, go to the making up of this Conſtellation, 'tis no wonder, it has ſo ſeldom appeared in the World; nor that when it does, it is received and followed, with ſo much gazing, and ſo much veneration.

Among the ſimpler Ages or Generations of Men, in ſeveral Countries, Thoſe who were the firſt Inventers of Arts generally received and applauded as moſt neceſſary or uſeful to human life, were honoured alive, and after death worſhipped as Gods. And ſo were thoſe, who had been the firſt Authors of any good and well inſtituted civil Government in any Country, by which, the native Inhabitants were reduced from ſavage and brutiſh lives, to the ſafety and convenience of Societies, the enjoyment of Property, the obſervance of Orders, and the obedience of Laws, which were followed by Security, Plenty, Civility, Riches, Induſtry and all kinds of Arts. The evident advantages and common benefits of theſe ſorts of Inſtitutions, made People generally inclined at home

to obey ſuch Governors, the Neighbour Nations to eſteem them, and thereby, willingly enter into their Protection, or eaſily yield to the force of their Arms and Proweſs. Thus Conqueſts began to be made in the World, and upon the ſame deſigns, of reducing Barbarous Nations unto Civil and well Regulated Conſtitutions and Governments, and of ſubduing thoſe by force to obey them, who refuſed to accept willingly the advantages of Life or condition, that were thereby offered them. Such Perſons of old, who excelling in thoſe Vertues, were attended by theſe fortunes, and made great and famous Conqueſts, and left them under good Conſtitutions of Laws and Governments; Or who inſtituted excellent and laſting orders and frames of any Political ſtate, in what compaſs ſoever of Country, or under what Names ſoever of Civil Government, were obeyed as Princes or Law-givers in their own times, and were called in after Ages, by the name of Heroes.

From theſe ſources, I believe may be deduced all or moſt of the Theology or Idolatry, of all the ancient Pagan Countries, within the compaſs of the Four

Four great Empires, so much renowned in Story, and perhaps of some others, as great in their Constitutions, and as extended in their Conquests, though not so much celebrated nor observed by Learned Men.

From all I can gather, upon the Surveys of ancient Story, I am apt to conclude, that *Saturn* was a King of *Crete*, and expelled that Kingdom by his Son. That *Jupiter* having driven out his Father from *Crete*, conquered *Greece*, or at least the *Peloponesus*; and having among those Inhabitants, introduced the use of Agriculture, of Property and Civility, and established a just and regular Kingdom, was by them adored as chief of their Gods.

Ante Jovem nulli subigerunt arva coloni.

That His Brothers, Sisters, Sons, and Daughters, were worshipped likewise, for the inventions of things chiefly useful, necessary, or agreeable to Humane Life. So *Neptune*, for the art or improvement of Navigation; *Vulcan*, for that of Forging Brass and Iron; *Minerva*, of Spinning; *Apollo*, of Musick

and

and Poetry; *Mercury*, of Manual Arts and Merchandise; *Bacchus*, for the invention of Wine, and *Ceres* of Corn.

I do not find any traces left, by which a probable conjecture may be made of the Age, wherein this race of Saturn flourished in the World, nor consequently, what length of time they were adored; for as to *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, it is generally agreed, that there were more than one or two of those Names, in very different times, and perhaps Countries, as *Greece* and *Egypt*, and that the last, who was Son of *Alcmena*, and one of the *Argonauts*, was very modern, in respect of the other more ancient, who was contemporary with the race of *Jupiter*. But the Story of that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, who are said to have Conquered *India*, is grown too obscure, by the dark shades of so great Antiquity, or disguised by the mask of Fables, and Fiction of Poets.

The same divine Honours, were rendered by the *Ægyptians* to *Osyris*, in whose Temple, was inscribed on a Pillar, that he had gone through all Countries, and every where taught Men all that he found necessary for the common

mon good of Mankind, By the *Aſſyrians*, to *Belus*, the Founder of that Kingdom, and great Inventor or Improver of Aſtronomy, among the *Caldæans*, By the Original *Latins* or *Hetruſcans*, to *Janus*, who introduced Agriculture into *Italy*; and theſe Three were worſhipped as Gods, by thoſe ancient and Learned Nations.

Ninus and *Seſoſtris*, were renowned for their mighty Conqueſts, and eſteemed the two great Heroes of *Aſſyria* and of *Egypt*; the firſt having extended his Victories, to the River *Indus*, and the other, thoſe of the *Ægyptians*, over *Aſia*, as far as *Pontus*. The time of *Ninus* is controverted among Hiſtorians, being by ſome placed, Thirteen, by others, Eight Hundred Years before *Sardanapalus*: But that of *Seſoſtris*, is in my opinion, much harder to be affirmed. For I do not ſee, how their opinion can be allowed, who make him to be *Seſack*, that took *Jeruſalem* in the time of *Reboboam*, ſince no more is ſaid in Scripture, of the progreſs of that Expedition: Nor is the time of it mentioned in the *Græcian* Story, though ſome Records are there found, of all that paſſed after the *Trojan* War, and

with distinction enough. But the most ancient among them, speak of the Reign of *Sesostris*, and his mighty Conquests, as very ancient then, and agree the Kingdom of *Cholcos*, to have descended from a Colony there Established by this famous King, as a Monument how far Northward his Victories had extended. Now this Kingdom flourished in the time of the *Argonauts*, and excelled in those Arts of Magick and Enchantments, which they were thought to have brought with them out of *Egypt*; so as I think the Sory of this King must be reckoned as almost covered with the Ruins of Time.

The two next Heroes that enter the Scene, are the *Theban Hercules*, and *Theseus*, both renowned among the *Greeks*, for freeing their Country from Fierce Wild Beasts, or from fiercer and wilder Men that infested them; from Robbers and Spoilers, or from cruel and Lawless Tyrants. *Theseus* was besides honoured as Founder of the more Civil State or Kingdom of *Athens*, which City first began to flourish and grow great by his Institutions, though His Father had been King of the Scattered Villages or Inhabitants of *Attica*.

In

In the ſame Age, flouriſhed *Minos* King of *Crete*, reputed to be Son of *Jupiter*, who by the force and number of his Fleets, became Lord of the *Ægean* Iſlands, and moſt of the Coaſts of *Greece*, and was renowned as a Heroe, for the juſtneſs of his Laws, and the greatneſs of his Reign.

For the Heroes, in the time of the *Trojan* Wars, ſo much celebrated in thoſe two charming Poems, which from them were called Heroical, though 'tis eaſie to take their Characters from thoſe admirable Pictures drawn of them by *Homer* and *Virgil*, yet 'tis hard to find them in the Relations of any Authentick Story. That which may be obſerved, is, that all the Conduct and Courage of *Hector*, were imployed in the defence of his Country and his Father againſt a Foreign Invaſion: The valour of *Achilles* was exerciſed in the common cauſe, wherein his whole Nation were engaged upon the fatal Revenge of the Rape of *Helen*, though he had been aſſured by certain Prophecies, that he ſhould dye before the Walls of *Troy*; and *Æneas*, having imployed His utmoſt Proweſs in defence of his Country, ſaved his Father and the *Trojan* Gods, ga-

thered up the Remainders of his Ruined Country, ſailed to *Italy*, and there Founded a Kingdom, which gave riſe to the Greateſt Empire of the World.

About Two Hundred and Fifty Years after theſe, *Lycurgus* inſtituted the *Spartan* State, upon Laws and Orders ſo different from thoſe uſual in thoſe Times and Countries, that more than Humane Authority ſeemed neceſſary to eſtabliſh them; and the *Pythian* Prieſteſs told him, ſhe did not know whether ſhe ſhould call Him a God or a Man. And indeed no Civil or Politick Conſtitutions have been more celebrated than His, by the beſt Authors of ancient Story and Times.

The next Heroes we meet with upon Record, were *Romulus* and *Numa*, of which the firſt, Founded the *Roman* City and State, and the other, Poliſhed the Civil and Religious Orders of both in ſuch a degree, that the Original Inſtitutions of theſe two Lawgivers continued as long, as that Glorious State.

The next Heroe that came upon the Stage, was *Cyrus*, who freed his Country from their Servitude to the *Medes*, erected the *Perſian* Empire upon the Ruins

Ruins of the *Assyrian*; adorned it with excellent Constitutions and Laws, and extended it Westward, by the Conquest of all the lesser *Asia* and *Lydia*, to the very Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea. Whether the Picture of *Cyrus* drawn by *Xenophon*, be after the life, or only imaginary, we may find in it the truest Character that can be given of Heroick Virtue: And 'tis certain, His Memory was always sacred among the *Persians*, though not prosecuted by Divine Honours, because that Nation adored one Supream God, without any Representation or Idol; and in the next place the Sun, to whom alone they offered Sacrifices.

Alexander, was the next, renowned in Story, having founded the *Grecian* Monarchy, by the entire Conquest of the *Persian*, and extended it, by the addition of *Greece* and *Macedon*. But He attained not the esteem or appellation of an Heroe, though He affected and courted it by His Mother's Stories of His Birth, and by the Flatteries of the Priest and Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*. His pretence was justly excluded, by His Intemperance in Wine, in Anger, and in Lust, and more yet by His Cruelties and

His Pride; for true Honour has something in it so humorous, as to follow commonly those, who avoid or neglect it, rather than those, who seek and pursue it. Besides, He instituted no orders or frame of Government, in the Kingdoms either of *Macedon* or *Persia*; but rather corrupted and disordered those He found: And seems to have owed the success of His Enterprises, to the Councels and Conduct of His Fathers old Officers, after whose disgrace and fall, immediately succeeded that of his Fortune and his Life. Yet he must be allowed, to have much contributed to his own Glory and Fame, by a great native Genius and unlimited Bounty, and by the greatest boldness of Enterprise, scorn of Danger, and fearlessness of Death that could be in any Mortal Man. He was a Prodigy of Valour and of Fortune, but whether his Virtues or his Faults were greatest, is hard to be decided.

Cæsar, who is commonly esteemed to have been Founder of the *Roman* Empire, seems to have possessed very eminently all the Qualities, both native and acquired, that enter into the Composition of an Heroe, but failed of the

Attribute

Attribute or Honour, becauſe He overthrew the Laws of his own Country, and Orders of his State, and raiſed his greatneſs by the Conqueſt of his Fellow Citizens, more than of their Enemies; and after he came to the Empire, lived not to perfect the frame of ſuch a Government, or atchieve ſuch Conqueſts as he ſeems to have had in deſign.

Theſe Four great Monarchies, with the ſmaller Kingdoms, Principalities and States, that were ſwallowed up by their Conqueſts and Extent, make the Subject of what is called Ancient Story, and are ſo excellently related by the many *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, ſtill extant and in common vogue, ſo commented, enlarged, reduced into order of time and place, by many more of the Modern Writers, that they are known to all Men, who profeſs to ſtudy or entertain themſelves with Reading. The Orders and Inſtitutions of theſe ſeveral Governments, their progreſs and duration, their ſucceſſes or decays, their events and revolutions, make the common Theams of Schools and Colledges, the Study of Learned, and the Converſation of Idle Men, the Arguments of Hiſtories, Poems and Romances. From

the Actions and Fortunes of these Princes and Law-givers, are drawn the common Examples of Vertue and Honour, the Reproaches of Vice, which are illustrated by the Felicities or Misfortunes that attend them. From the Events and Revolutions of these Governments, are drawn the usual Instructions of Princes and Statesmen, and the Discourses and Reflections of the greatest Wits and Writers upon the Politicks. From the Orders and Institutions, the Laws and Customs of these Empires and States, the Sages of Law and of Justice, in all Countries, endeavour to deduce the very common Laws of Nature and of Nations, as well as the particular Civil or Municipal of Kingdoms and Provinces. From these they draw their Arguments and Presidents in all Disputes concerning the pretended Excellencies or Defaults of the several sorts of Governments that are extolled or decried, accused or defended. Concerning the Rights of War and Peace, of Invasion and Defence between Sovereign Princes, as well as of Authority and Obedience, of Prerogative and Liberty, in Civil Contentions.

Yet

Yet the Stage of all theſe Empires and Revolutions, of all theſe Heroick Actions, and theſe famous Conſtitutions, (how great or how wiſe ſoever any of them are eſteemed) is but a limited compaſs of Earth, that leaves out many vaſt Regions of the World, the which, though accounted barbarous, and little taken notice of in Story, or by any celebrated Authors, yet have a right to come in for their Voice, in agreeing upon the Laws of Nature and Nations (for ought I know) as well as the reſt, that have arrogated it wholly to themſelves; and beſides, in my Opinion, there are ſome of them, that upon enquiry, will be found to have equalled or exceeded all the others, in the Wiſdom of their Conſtitutions, the extent of their Conqueſts, and the duration of their Empires or States.

The famous Scene of the four great Monarchies, was that midland part of the World; which was bounded on the Eaſt by the River *Indus*, and on the Weſt by the Atlantick Ocean; on the North by the River *Oxus*, the Caſpian and the Euxine Seas, and the *Danube*; on the South by the Mountain *Atlas*, *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, and from thence to the Mouth

Mouth of *Indus*, by the Southern Ocean.

'Tis true, that *Semiramis* and *Alexander* are ſaid to have conquered *India*; but the firſt ſeems only to have ſubdued ſome parts of it that lie upon the Borders of that River; and *Alexander*'s Atchievments there, ſeem rather like a Journey than a Conqueſt; and though He pierced through the Country, from *Indus* to *Ganges*, yet He left even undiſcovered, the greateſt parts of that Mighty Region, which, by the Ancients was reported, to contain an hundred and eighteen great and populous Nations, and which, for ought I know, were never conquer'd but by the *Tartars*.

I reckon neither *Scythia* nor *Arabia* for parts of that ancient Scene of Action and Story; for tho *Cyrus* and *Darius* entred the firſt, yet they ſoon left it, one with loſs of his Honour, and the other of his Life. And for *Arabia*, I neither find it was ever conquered, or indeed well diſcovered or ſurveyed, nor much more known, than by the Commerce of their Spices and Perfumes. I mean that part of it, which is called *Arabia Fœlix*, and is environed on three ſides by the Sea; for the Northern Skirts,

Skirts, that joyn to *Syria*, have entred into the Conquests or Commerce of the four great Empires; but that which seems to have secured the other, is the stony and sandy Desarts, through which no Armies can pass for want of Water.

Now if we consider the Map of the World, as it lies at present before us, since the discoveries made by the Navigations of these three last Centuries, we shall easily find what vast Regions there are, which have been left out of that ancient Scene on all sides: And tho passing for barbarous, they have not been esteemed worth the Pens of any good Authors, and are known only by common and poor Relations of Traders, Seamen, or Travellers; yet by all I have read, I am inclined to believe that some of these out-lying Parts of the World, however unknown by the Ancients, and overlookt by the modern Learned, may yet have afforded as much matter of Action and Speculation, as the other Scene so much celebrated in Story. I mean not only in their vast Extent, and variety of Soils and Clymats, with their natural Productions, but even in the excellent Constitutions of Laws and Customs

Customs, the wise and lasting Foundations of States and Empires, and the mighty Flights of Conquests that have risen from such Orders and Institutions.

Now because the first Scene is such a beaten Road, and this so little known or traced, I am content to take a short Survey of four great Scheams of Government or Empire, that have sprung and grown to mighty heights, lived very long, and flourished much in these remote (and as we will have it, more ignoble) Regions of the World: Whereof one is at the farthest degree of our Eastern Longitude, being the Kingdom of *China*; The next is at the farthest Western, which is that of *Peru*; The third is the utmost of our Northern Latitude, which is *Scythia* or *Tartary*; And the fourth is *Arabia*, which lies very far upon the Southern.

For that vast Continent of *Africa*, that extends between Mount *Atlas* and the Southern Ocean; Tho it be found to swarm in People, to abound in Gold, to contain many great Kingdoms, and infinite smaller Principalities, to be pierced by those two famous Rivers of the *Nile* and the *Niger*, to produce a

Race

Race of Men that ſeem hardly of the ſame Species with the reſt of Mankind; Yet I cannot find any Traces of that Heroick Virtue, that may entitle them to any ſhare in this Eſſay. For whatever remains in Story of *Atlas*, or his Kingdom of old, is ſo obſcured with Age or Fables, that it may go along with thoſe of the Atlantick Iſlands, tho I know not whether theſe themſelves were by *Solon* or *Plato* intended for Fables or no, or for Relations they had met with among the *Egyptian* Prieſts, and which perhaps were by them otherwiſe eſteemed.

SECT.

SECT. II.

THE Great and Ancient Kingdom of *China* is bounded to the East and South by the Ocean, to the North by a Stone Wall of Twelve Hundred Miles long, raised against the Invasion of the *Tartars*; and to the West, by vast and unpassable Mountains or Desarts, which the Labour or Curiosity of no mortal Man has been ever yet known to have pierced through, or given any Account of. When *Alexander* would have passed the River *Ganges*, He was told by the *Indians*, that nothing beyond it was Inhabited, and that all was either impassable Marishes, lying between great Rivers, or sandy Desarts, or steep Mountains, full only of Wild Beasts, but wholly destitute of Mankind. So as *Ganges* was esteemed by Ancients the Bound of the Eastern World: Since the use of the Compass, and extent of Navigation, it is found that there are several populous Kingdoms lie between

Ganges

Ganges and the Deſarts or Mountains that divide them from *China*, as *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Cirote*, and others, lie in this ſpace, coaſting along the Borders of great Rivers Northwards, which are ſaid to run about the length of *Indus* and *Ganges*, and all of them to riſe from one mighty Lake in the Mountains of *Tartary*. But from none of theſe Kingdoms is known any other way of Paſſage or Commerce into *China*, than by Sea.

From *Indoſtan* or the *Mogul*'s Country, there is none other uſual; and ſuch as travel from thence by Land, are forced to go many Degrees Northward before they turn to the Eaſt, to paſs many Savage Kingdoms or Countries of the *Tartars*, to travel through vaſt ſandy Deſarts, and other prodigious high and ſteep Mountains, where no Carriage or Beaſt is able to paſs, but only Men on foot, and over one Mountain particularly, eſteemed the higheſt in the World, where the Air is ſo thin, that Men cannot travel over it without danger of their Lives, and never in Summer without being poiſoned by the Sent of certain Herbs that grow upon it, which is mortal when they are in Flower. After eight or nine Months Journey from the

Mogul's

Mogul's Court, ſeveral Perſons have travelled this Way, till they came to the Wall that defends or divides *China* from *Tartary*, and ſo to the Imperial City of *Peking*, ſituate in the Northern parts of this mighty Region, which the *Chineſe* call a World by it ſelf, and eſteem themſelves the only reaſonable and civilized People, having no Neighbours on three ſides, and to the North only the *Tartars*, whom they eſteem but another ſort of wild or bruitiſh Men; and therefore they ſay in common Proverb, that the *Chineſes* only ſee with two Eyes, and all other Men but with one.

By this Situation, and by a Cuſtom or Law very ancient among them, of ſuffering no Stranger to come into their Country, or if they do, not permitting Him to go out, or return any more to His own, this vaſt Continent continued very long and wholly unknown to the reſt of the World, and for as much as I can find, was firſt diſcovered to us by *Paulus Venetus*, who about four hundred years ago made a Voyage from *Veniice*, thro' *Armenia*, *Perſia*, and ſeveral parts of *Tartary*, to that which He names the Kingdom of *Cataya*, and to the famous City of *Cambalu*, (as he calls them) and after

after ſeventeen years reſidence of His Father and himſelf, in that Court of the great *Chan*, returned to *Venice*, and left the World a large Account of this Voyage.

Since His time, and within two or three hundred years ſeveral Miſſionary Friers and Jeſuits have upon Devotion or Command of their Superiors, pierced with infinite pains and dangers thro' theſe vaſt and ſavage Regions, ſome from the *Mogul*'s Country, ſome thro' *Armenia* and *Perſia*, and arrived at *Peking*, which I make no queſtion, (by comparing all their ſeveral Accounts and Relations) is the ſame famous City that is called *Cambalu* by *Paulus Venetus*, ſeated in the Northern Provinces of *China*, which is by Him called *Cataya*. The reaſon of this difference in Names, was, that when *Paulus Venetus* was there, the *Cham* of Eaſt *Tartary*, called *Cataya*, had poſſeſſed Himſelf by Conqueſt, of ſeveral Northern Provinces of *China*, as well as that of *Peking*, where He made his Reſidence, and which was like the reſt of his Empire, called *Cataya*, and the chief City *Cambalu*, by a *Tartar* Name. After ſome time all theſe Provinces were again recovered by the

Chineſes, from the *Tartars*, and returned to their old *Chineſe* Appellations; and the King of *China*, who then expelled the *Tartars*, fixed the Seat of His Empire at *Peking*, (which had been formerly at *Nanking* and at *Quinſay*) that the Force of His Armies lying thereabouts, might be ready to defend that Frontier againſt the furious Invaſions of the *Tartars*, whereof they had ſeveral times felt the rage and danger.

After this recovery, *China* continued in Peace, and proſperous, under their own Emperours, till about the year 1616, when the *Tartars* again invaded them, and after a long and bloody War, of above thirty years, in the end made themſelves abſolute Maſters of the whole Kingdom, and ſo it has ever ſince continued.

This Region, commonly known by the name of *China*, extends about eighteen hundred Miles, or thirty Degrees of Northern and Southern Latitude. It is not eſteemed ſo much of Longitude, but this is more uncertain, the Journey thro' the whole Country from Eaſt to Weſt having not, that I find, been ever performed by any European, and the accounts taken only from report of the

the Natives. Nor is it eaſily agreed, where, the habitable parts of *China* determine Weſtward, ſince ſome Authors ſay, they end in Mountains, ſtored only with wild Beaſts and wild Men, that have neither Laws nor Language, nor other commerce with the *Chineſes*, than by deſcents ſometimes made upon them, for Rapines or for Rapes; And other Authors ſay, There are ſuch inacceſſible Mountains even in the midſt of *China*, ſo as the firſt accounts, may have left out great Countries beyond theſe Mountains, which they took for the utmoſt Border of this Kingdom.

Whatever length it has, which by none is eſteemed leſs, than twelve or thirteen hundred miles; It muſt be allowed, to be the greateſt, richeſt and moſt populous Kingdom, now known in the World, and will perhaps be found to owe its Riches, Force, Civility and Felicity, to the admirable conſtitution of it's Government more than any other.

This Empire conſiſts of fifteen ſeveral Kingdoms, which at leaſt have been ſo of old, tho now governed as Provinces, by their ſeveral Vice-roys, who yet live in Greatneſs, Splendor, and

Riches, equal to great and Sovereign Kings. In the whole Kingdom are one hundred and forty five capital Cities, of mighty extent and magnificent Building, and one thousand three hundred twenty and one lesser Cities, but all walled round; The number of Villages is infinite, and no Country in the known World so full of Inhabitants, nor so improved by Agriculture, by infinite growth of numerous Commodities, by Canals of incredible length, conjunctions of Rivers, convenience of Ways, for the transportation of all sorts of Goods and Commodities from one Province to another, so as no Country has so great trade, tho till very lately, they never had any but among themselves, and what there is now foreign among them, is not driven by the *Chineses* going out of their Country to manage it, but only by their permission of the *Portugueses* and *Dutch*, to come and trade in some skirts of their Southern Provinces.

For Testimonies of their Greatness, I shall only add what is agreed of their famous Wall, and of their City *Peking*. The Stone-wall which divides the Northern parts of *China* from *Tartary*, is reckoned

reckoned by some, twelve, by others, nine hundred miles long, running over Rocks and Hills, through Marishes and Deserts, and making way for Rivers by mighty Arches; It is forty five foot high, and twenty foot thick at the bottom, divided at certain spaces by great Towers. It was built above two thousand years ago, but with such admirable Architecture, that where some Gaps have not been broken down by the *Tartars* upon their Irruptions, the rest is still as entire, as when it was first built. The King that raised this Wall, appointed a Million of Soldiers, who were listed and paid, for the defence of it against the *Tartars*, and took their turns by certain numbers, at certain times, for the guard of this Frontier.

The Imperial City of *Peking* is nothing so large as several other Cities of *China* (whereof *Nanking* is esteemed the greatest) but is a regular Foursquare; The Wall of each side is six Miles in length. In each of these sides are three Gates, and on each side of each Gate are great Palaces or Forts for the Guards belonging to them, which are a Thousand Men to each Gate. The Spree's run quite cross, with a

through View and Paſſage from each Gate to that which is over againſt it in the oppoſite ſide, and theſe Streets are ranged full of ſtately Houſes.

The Palace of the Emperor is three Miles in Compaſs, conſiſting of three Courts, one within the other, whereof the laſt (where the Emperor lodges) is four hundred paces ſquare. The other two are filled with his Domeſticks, Officers and Guards, to the number of ſixteen thouſand Perſons. Without theſe Courts, are large and delicious Gardens, many artificial Rocks and Hills, Streams of Rivers drawn into ſeveral Canals faced with ſquare Stone, and the whole atchieved with ſuch admirable Invention, Coſt and Workmanſhip, that nothing ancient or modern ſeems to come near it; and all ſerved with ſuch Magnificence, Order and Splendour, that the Audience of a Foreign Ambaſſadour at *Pekin*, ſeems a ſight as Great and Noble, as one of the Triumphs at *Rome*.

As other Nations are uſually diſtinguiſh'd into Noble and Plebeian, ſo that of *China* may be diſtinguiſh'd into Learned and Illiterate. The laſt makes up the Body or Maſs of the People who

are

are govern'd; the first comprehends all the Magistrates that govern, and those who may in time or course succeed them in the Magistracy; for no other than the Learned are ever employed in the Government, nor any in the greatest Charges, that are not of those Ranks or Degrees of Learning, that make them termed Sages, or Philosophers, or Doctors among them.

But to comprehend what this Government of *China* is, and what the Persons employed in it, there will be a necessity of knowing what their Learning is, and how it makes them fit for Government, very contrary to what ours in *Europe* is observed to do, and the reason of such different effects from the same Cause.

The two great Heroes of the *Chinese* Nation were *Fohu* and *Confuchu*, whose Memories have always continued among them Sacred and Adored. *Fohu* lived about four thousand years ago, and was the first Founder of their Kingdom, the progress whereof has ever since continued upon their Records so clear, that they are esteemed by the Missionary Jesuits unquestionable and infallible. For after the Death of

every King, the Successor appoints certain Persons to write the Memorable Actions of his Predecessors Reign, and of these, an Epitome is afterwards drawn, and entred into their Registers. *Fohi* first reduced them from the common Original Lives of Mankind, introduced Agriculture, Wedlock, distinction of Sexes by different Habits, Laws and Orders of Government; He invented Characters, and left several short Tables or Writings of Astronomy, or Observations of the Heavens, of Morality, of Physick, and Political Government. The Characters he used seem to have been partly strait Lines of different Lengths, and distinguish'd by different points; and partly Hieroglyphicks, and these in time were followed by Characters; of which each expressed one word.

In these several ways, were for many Centuries, composed many Books, among the *Chinese*, in many sorts of Learning, especially Natural and Moral Philosophy, Astronomy, Astrology, Physick and Agriculture.

Something above two thousand years ago, lived *Confucius*, the most learned, wise and vertuous of all the *Chinese*, and for whom

whom, both the King and Magistrates, in His own age, and all of them, in the Ages since, seem to have had the greatest Deference that has any where been rendred to any Mortal Man. He writ many Tracts, and in them digested all the Learning of the Ancients even from the first Writing or Tables of *Fohi*, at least, all that He thought necessary or useful to Mankind, in their personal, civil or political Capacities, which were then received and since prosecuted, with so great Esteem and Veneration, that none has questioned whatever he writ, but admitted it, as the truest and best Rules of Opinion and Life, so that 'tis enough in all Argument, That *Confucius* has said it.

Some time after, lived a King, who to raise a new period of Time, from His own Name and Reign, endeavoured to abolish the Memory of all that had passed before Him, and enacted all Books to be burnt, except those of Physick and Agriculture. Out of this ruin to Learning, escaped, either by chance, or some private Industry, the Epitomes or Registers of the several successions of their Kings since *Fohi*, and the works of *Confucius*, or at least a part of them, which have lately in *France*, been

been printed in the Latin Tongue, with a learned Preface, by some of the Missionary Jesuits, under the Title of the *Works of Confutius*.

After the death of this Tyrannous and Ambitious King, These Writings came abroad, and being the only Remainders of the Ancient *Chinese* Learning, were received with general Applause, or rather Veneration; Four Learned Men having long addicted themselves to the Study of these Books, wrote four several Tracts or Comments upon them; and one of the succeeding Kings made a Law, that no other Learning should be taught, studied or exercised but what was extracted out of these five Books; and so Learning has ever since continued in *China*, wholly confined to the Writings of these five Men, or rather to those of their Prince of Philosophers the great and renowned *Confutius*.

The Sum of His Writings, seems to be a Body or Digestion of Ethicks, that is, of all Moral Vertues, either Personal, Oeconomical, Civil or Political, and framed for the Institution and Conduct of Mens Lives, their Families, and their Governments, but chiefly of the last;

last; the bent of his thoughts and reasonings, running up and down this Scale, that no People can be happy but under Good Governments, and no Governments happy but over good Men; and that for the Felicity of Mankind, all Men in a Nation, from the Prince to the meaneſt Peaſant, ſhould endeavour to be good and wiſe and vertuous as far as His own Thoughts, the Precepts of others, or the Laws of His Country, can inſtruct him.

The chief Principles He ſeems to lay down for a Foundation, and builds upon, is, That every Man ought to ſtudy and endeavour the improving and perfecting of His own Natural Reaſon, to the greateſt height He is capable, ſo as He may never (or as ſeldom as can be) err and ſwerve from the Law of Nature, in the courſe and conduct of His Life: That this being not to be done, without much thought, enquiry and diligence, makes Study and Philoſophy neceſſary, which teaches Men what is good, and what is bad, either in its own Nature or for theirs, and conſequently what is to be done and what to be avoided, by every Man in His ſeveral Station or Capacity. That in

this

this perfection of Natural Reason, consists that perfection of Body and Mind, and the utmost or supream Happiness of Mankinde. That the means and rules to attain this perfection, are chiefly not to will or desire any thing but what is consonant to this Natural Reason, nor any thing that is not agreeable to the good and happiness of other men, as well as our own. To this end is prescribed, the constant course and practice of the several Vertues, known and agreed so generally in the World, among which, Courtesie or Civility, and Gratitude, are Cardinal with them. In short, the whole scope of all Confucius his writings, seems aimed only, at teaching Men to live well, and to govern well, how Parents, Masters and Magistrates should rule, and how Children, Servants and Subjects should obey.

All this, with the many particular Rules and Instructions for either personal, Oeconomical, or political Wisdom and Vertue is discoursed by Him, with great Compass of Knowledge, Excellence of Sense, Reach of Wit, and illustrated with Elegance of Stile, and Aptness of similitudes, and examples, as may be easily conceived by any that can

can allow for the lameness and shortness of Translations out of Languages and Manners of writing, infinitely differing from ours. So as the Man appears to have been of a very extraordinary Genius, of mighty learning, admirable Vertue, excellent Nature, a true Patriot of his Country, and Lover of Mankind.

This is their learning of the Chinese, and all other sorts are either disused or ignoble among them; all that which we call Scholastick or Polemick, is unknown or unpractised, and serves, I fear, among us, for little more, than to raise Doubts and Disputes, Heats and Feuds, Animosities and Factions, in all Controversies of Religion or Government. Even Astrology and Physick and Chymistry, are but ignoble Studies, tho there are many among them that excel in all these; and the Astrologers are much in vogue among the Vulgar, as well as their Predictions; The Chymists apply themselves chiefly, to the search of the universal Medicine, for health and length of Life, pretending to make Men Immortal, if they can find it out: The Physicians excel, in the knowledg of the pulse, and of all simple Medicines, and go little further; but in the first, are so

skilful

skilful, as they pretend not only to tell by it, how many hours or days a sick Man can last, but how many years, a Man in perfect seeming health may live, in case of no Accident or violence. And by Simples, they pretend to relieve all Diseases that Nature will allow to be cured. They never let blood, but say, if the Pot boils too fast, there is no need of lading out any of the water, but only of taking away the fire from under it, and so they allay all heats of the blood, by abstinence dyet and cooling herbs.

But all this Learning is ignoble and Mechanical among them, and the *Confusian* only essential and incorporate to their Government, into which none enters without having first passed thro the several Degrees. To attain it, is first necessary the knowledg of their Letters or Characters, and to this must be applied at least ten or twelve years study and diligence, and twenty for great perfection in it: For by all I can gather out of so many Authors, as have written of *China*, they have no Letters at all, but only so many Characters, expressing so many Words: these, are said by some, to be sixty, by others eighty, and by others sixscore thousand;

and

and upon the whole, their writing seems to me to be like that of Short-hand among us, in case, there were a different Character invented, for every word in our Language; Their Writing, is neither from the left hand to right like the *European*, nor from right to left like the *Asiatick* Languages, but from top to bottom of the Paper in one strait Line, and then beginning again at the top till the side be full.

The Learning of *China* therefore consists first in the Knowledge of their Language, and next, in the Learning, Study and Practice of the Writings of *Confutius*, and his four great Disciples; and as every Man grows more perfect in both these, so he is more esteemed and advanced; nor is it enough to have read *Confutius*, unless it be discovered by retaining the principal parts of him in their memories, and the practice of him in their lives.

The Learned among them are promoted by three Degrees; The first may resemble that of Sophisters in our Colleges after two or three years standing, and this Degree is conferred by publick Examiners appointed for that purpose, who go through the chief Cities of

of each Province once a year, and upon ſcrutiny, admit ſuch of the Candidates as they approve, to this Degree, Regiſter their Names, and give them a Badge belonging to this firſt form of the Learned.

The ſecond Degree is promoted with more form, and performed once in three years, in a great College built for that purpoſe in the chief City of each Kingdom; by ſeveral Examiners appointed by the King, and ſtrict enquiries and queſtions both of Language and Learning, and much Criticiſm upon the ſeveral Writings, produced by the ſeveral Pretenders, and ſubmitted to the Examiners. This Degree, may reſemble that of Maſters of Arts in our Colleges, and is conferred with a new Badge belonging to it.

The third Degree may be compared to that of Doctors among us in any of our Sciences, and is never conferred, but in the Imperial City of *Peking* with great Forms and Solemnities, after much examining, and deliberation of the Perſons appointed for that purpoſe, and of this Degree there are never to be above three hundred at a time in the whole Empire, beſides ſuch as are actually

ally in the Magistracy or Government; Who are all chosen out of the Persons that have commenced or attained this degree of Learning. Upon the taking each Degree, they repair to a Temple of *Confutius*, which is erected in each City, and adjoyns to the Colleges; and there they perform the Worship and Ceremonies appointed in honour of his Memory, as the great Prince or Hero of the Learned.

Of these Persons all their Councils, and all their Magistracies are composed; out of these are chosen all their Chief Officers and Mandarines, both Civil and Military. With these the Emperors and Viceroys of Provinces, and Generals of Armies advise upon all great occasions; and their Learning and Vertue make them esteemed more able for the execution and discharge of all publick Employments, than the longest Practice and Experience in other Countries; and when they come into Armies, they are found braver and more generous in exposing their Lives upon all great Occasions, than the boldest Soldiers of their Troops.

Now for the Government, it is absolute Monarchy, there being no other

Laws in *China* but the King's Orders and Commands; and it is likewise Hereditary, ſtill deſcending to the next of Blood.

But all Orders and Commands of the King proceed through his Counſels, and are made upon the Recommendation or Petition of the Council proper and appointed for that Affair; ſo that all matters are debated, determined, and concluded by the ſeveral Councils; and then upon their Advices or Requeſts made to the King, they are ratify'd and ſigned by him, and ſo paſs into Laws.

All great Offices of State are likewiſe conferred by the King, upon the ſame Recommendations or Petitions of his ſeveral Councils; ſo that none are preferred by the Humour of the Prince himſelf, nor by favour of any Miniſter, by Flattery or Corruption, but by force or appearance of Merit, of Learning, and of Vertue, which obſerved by the ſeveral Councils, gain their Recommendations or Petitions to the King.

The chief Officers are either thoſe of State reſiding conſtantly at Court, and by whom, the whole Empire is governed; Or the Provincial Officers, Viceroys, and Magiſtrates or Mandarines;

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For the first, there are in the Imperial City at *Peking* six several Councils, or as some Authors affirm, one great Council, that divides it self into six smaller but distinct Branches. Some difference is also made by Writers, concerning the nature or the business of these Councils. But that which seems most generally agreed, is, That the first of these six is a Council of State, by whom all Officers through the whole Kingdom are chosen according to their Learning and Merit. The second is, the Council of Treasury, which has inspection into the whole Revenue, and the Receipts and Payments that are made in or out of it. The third takes care of the Temples, Offerings, Feasts and Ceremonies belonging to them, as likewise of Learning, and the Schools or Colleges designed for it. The fourth is the Council of War, which disposes of all Military Offices and Honours, and all matters of War and Peace, that is, by the King's Command issued upon their representations. The fifth takes care of all the Royal or Publick Buildings, and of their Fleets. And the sixth is a Council or Court of Justice or Judicature, in all Causes both Civil and Criminal.

Each of these Councils has a President and two Assistants or chief Secretaries, whereof one sits at his Right, and the other on his Left Hand, who digest and register the Debates and Orders of the Council. And besides these, there are in each Council Ten Counsellors.

By these Councils the whole Empire of *China* is govern'd through all the several Kingdoms that compose it; and they have in each Province particular Officers, Intendants and Notaries, from whom they receive constant Accounts, and to whom they send constant Instructions concerning all Passages or Affairs of moment in any of the several Provinces of the Kingdom.

There are, besides these six, several smaller Councils, as one for the Affairs of the King's Women, for his Houshold, and his Domestique Chancery or Justice. But above all, is the Council of the *Colaos*, or chief Ministers, who are seldom above five or six in number, but Persons of the most consummate Prudence and Experience, who after having passed, with great Applause, through the other Councils or Governments of Provinces, are at last advanced

to this ſupream Dignity, and ſerve as a Privy Council, or rather a *Junto*, ſitting with the Emperor Himſelf, which is allowed to none of the others. To theſe are preſented, all the Reſults or Requeſts of the other Councils, and being by their advice approved, they are, by the Emperor ſigned and ratified, and ſo diſpatched.

Theſe are always attended, by ſome of the chiefeſt and moſt renowned Philoſophers or Sages of the Kingdom, who attend the Emperor, and ſerve Him in receiving all Petitions, and give their opinions upon them to the Emperor or the *Colaos*, as alſo upon any matters of great moment and difficulty, when they are conſulted: And theſe are choſen out of two Aſſemblies reſiding at *Peking*, and conſiſting of ſixty Men each, but all choice Perſons, whoſe Wiſdom and Vertue, are generally known and applauded. They are imployed in all matters of Learning, and giving neceſſary Orders therein, keeping all the publick Writings and ordering and digeſting them, regiſtring all Laws and Orders of State, and out of theſe are appointed, by each ſucceeding King, ſome perſons to relate and

register the Times and Actions of His Predeceſſor. They are, at their leiſure much given to Poetry, in which, they compile the Praiſes of Vertuous Men and Actions, Satyrs againſt Vice, Inſcriptions for Monuments and triumphal Arches, and ſuch like Compoſitions. And laſtly out of theſe (as they grow in Eſteem and Fame of Wiſdom and Vertue) are choſen and advanced by Degrees, the Officers of State, and Counſellors in the ſeveral Councils, and none ever arrives to be a *Colao*, that has not been of one of theſe two Aſſemblies.

Each particular Kingdom of the Empire, has the ſame Councils, or ſome very like them for the Government of that particular Province; but there is beſides in each, a Surintendant, ſent more immediately from Court, to inſpect the courſe of Affairs; A Cenſor of Juſtice and Manners, without whoſe approval, no capital Sentences are to be executed; And a third Officer, imployed by the Empreſs, in the nature of an Almoner, whoſe buſineſs is only that of Charity, and Relief of the Poor and diſtreſſed, and ſetting free Priſoners upon ſmall Debts or Offences; There

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is beſides, in each Province, a particular Council, to take care of Learning, and to appoint Rules and Examiners for the ſeveral Degrees thereof.

It were endleſs to enumerate, all the excellent Orders of this State, which ſeem contrived by a reach of Senſe and Wiſdom, beyond what we meet with, in any other Government of the World; but by ſome few, the reſt may be judged.

Each Prince of the Royal Blood has a Revenue aſſigned Him, and a City where he is bound to reſide, and never to ſtir out of it, without the Emperor's leave. All Degrees of People are diſtinguiſht by their Habit, and the ſeveral Officers by ſeveral Badges upon them; And the Color worn by the Emperor, which is Yellow, is never uſed by any other perſon whatſoever. Every Houſe has a Board over the Door, wherein is written, the Number, Sex and Quality of the Perſons living in it; and to a certain number of Houſes, one is appointed to inſpect the reſt, and take care that this be exactly done. None is admitted to bear Office in any Province, where He was born, unleſs it be Military, which is grounded, upon

on the belief, that in matters of Justice Men will be partial to their Friends, but in those of War, Men will fight best for their own Country. None ever continues in any Office above three years, unless upon a new Election; and none put out for miscarriage in His Office, is again admitted to any Imployment. The two great hinges of all Governments, Reward and Punishment, are no where turned with greater care, nor exercised with more Bounty and Severity. Their Justice is rigorous upon all Offences against the Law, but none more exemplary, than upon corruption in Judges. Besides this, Inquisition is made into their ignorance and weakness, and even into carelesness and rashness in their Sentences; and as the first is punished with Death, so these are, with Dimission and Disgrace. The Rewards of Honour (besides those of advancement) are conferred, by Patents from the Emperor, expressing Merits and granting Priviledges, by Pillars of Marble with elegant and honorary Inscriptions: And to merit extraordinary towards the Prince and Country, even by erecting Temples, offering Incense, and appointing Priests, for

for the ſervice of them. Agriculture is encouraged by ſo many ſpecial privi-ledges from the Crown, and the Common Laws or Cuſtoms of the Country, that whatever Wars happen, the Tillers of the Ground are untouched, as if they were ſacred, like Prieſts in other places, ſo as no Country in the World, was ever known to be ſo cultivated, as the whole Kingdom of *China*. Honor and Reſpect, is no where paid to Nobility or Riches ſo much, a it is here to Vertue and Learning, which are equally regarded, both by the Prince and the People: And the advancement to Office of perſons only for excelling in thoſe Qualities, prevents the Cankers of Envy and Faction, that corrupt and deſtroy ſo many other Governments. Every one ſeeking Preferment here, only by Merit attributes to it, that of other Men. Tho the King be the moſt abſolute in the World, ſince there are no other Laws in *China* but what he makes; yet all Matters, being firſt digeſted and repreſented by His Councils, the Humors and Paſſions of the Prince, enter not into the forms or conduct of the Government, but His perſonal favors to Men or Women, are

diſtributed

distributed in the Preferments of His Houſhold, or out of the vaſt Revenue that is particularly applyed to it, for ſupport of the greateſt Expence and Magnificence, that appears in any Palace of the World. So that it may truly be ſaid, that no King is better ſerved and obeyed, more honored or rather adored; and no People better govern'd, nor with greater Eaſe and Felicity.

Upon theſe Foundations and Inſtitutions, by ſuch Methods and Orders, the Kingdom of *China* ſeems to be framed and policed with the utmoſt Force and Reach of Human Wiſdom, Reaſon and Contrivance, and in Practice, to excel the very Speculations of other Men, and all thoſe imaginary Schemes of the *European* Wits, the Inſtitutions of *Xenophon*, the Republick of *Plato*, the *Utopias* or *Oceanas* of our Modern Writers. And this will perhaps be allowed by any that conſiders the Vaſtneſs, the Opulence, the Populouſneſs of this Region, with the Eaſe and Facility wherewith 'tis govern'd, and the length of time this Government has run. The laſt, is three times longer than that of the *Aſſyrian Monarchy*, which was thir-

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teen hundred years, and the longeſt Period of any Government we meet with in Story. The Numbers of People and of their Forces, the Treaſures and Revenues of the Crown, as well as Wealth and Plenty of the Subjects, the Magnificence of their publick Buildings and Works, would be incredible, if they were not confirmed by the concurring Teſtimonies of *Paulus Venetus*, *Marinius Ketchanus*, with ſeveral other relations, in *Italian*, *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*, either by Miſſionary Friers, or Perſons imploy'd thither upon Trade or Embaſſies upon that occaſion; Yet the whole Government is repreſented, as a thing managed with as much Facility, Order and Quiet, as a common Family, tho ſome Writers affirm the number of People in *China*, before the laſt *Tartar* Wars, to have been above two hundred Millions. Indeed the Canals cut thro the Country, or made by Conjunctions of Rivers, are ſo infinite, and of ſuch lengths, and ſo perpetually filled with Boats and Veſſels of all kinds, that one Writer believes, there are near as many People in theſe, and the Ships wherewith their Havens are filled, who live upon the Water, as thoſe upon the Land. 'Tis

'Tis true, that as Physicians say, the highest Degree of Health in a Body, subjects it to the greatest danger and violence of some Disease; so the perfection of this Government or Constitution, has had the same effect, joyned with the accident of their Situation, upon such a Neighbour as the *Tartars*. For these, by the hardness and poverty of their Country and their Lives, are the boldest and the fiercest People in the World, and the most enterprising. On t'other side, the Excellence of the *Chinese* Wit and Government, renders them, by great Ease, Plenty and Luxury, in time effeminate, and thereby exposes them to frequent Attempts and Invasions of their savage Neighbours. Three several times, upon their Records, the *Tartars* have conquered great parts of the Kingdom of *China*, and after long establishments there, have been expelled. Till (as we said before) about the year 1650. they atchieved the compleat and entire Conquest of the whole Empire after a bloody War of above thirty years. But the Force of this Constitution and Government, appears in no circumstance or light, so great as in this, that it has waded safe through so

great

great Tempests and Inundations, as six changes of Race among their Kings by Civil Wars, and four Conquests by foreign and barbarous Forces. For under the present *Tartar* Kings, the Government continues still the same, and in the Hands of the *Chinese* learned; and all the change that appears to have been made, by such a Storm or Revolution has been only, that a *Tartar* Race sits in the Throne instead of a *Chinese*; and the Cities and strong Places are Garrison'd by *Tartar* Soldiers, who fall by degrees into the Manners, Customs and Language of the *Chinese*. So great a Respect, or rather Veneration, is paid to this wise and admirable Constitution, even by its Enemies and Invaders, that both Civil Usurpers and Foreign Conquerors, vye with Emulation, who shall make greatest Court, and give most support to it, finding no other means to secure their own Safety and Ease, by the Obedience of the People, than the Establishment and Preservation of their Ancient Constitutions and Government.

The great Idea which may be conceived of the *Chinese* Wisdom and Knowledge, as well as their Wit, Ingenuity and Civility, by all we either read or

see

ſee of them, is apt to be leſſened by their groſs and ſottiſh Idolatry; but this it ſelf is only among the Vulgar or Illiterate, who Worſhip after their manner, whatever Idols belong to each City, or Village or Family, and the Temples and Prieſts belonging to them, are in uſual requeſt among the common People and the Women. But the Learned adore the Spirit of the World, which they hold to be Eternal, and this without Temples, Idols or Prieſts. And the Emperour only is allowed to ſacrifice at certain times, by himſelf or his Officers, at two Temples in the two Imperial Cities of *Peking* and *Nanking*, one dedicated to Heaven and t'other to the Earth.

This I mention, to ſhew how the furtheſt Eaſt and Weſt may be found to agree in Notions of Divinity, as well as in Excellence of Civil or Politick Conſtitutions, by paſſing at one leap from theſe of *China* to thoſe of *Peru*.

SECT.

SECT. III.

'TIS known enough, that about the year 1484. *Alonso Sanchez*, Master of a *Spanish* Vessel that usually traded from those Coasts to the *Canaries* and *Madera's*, was in his Passage between these Islands surprised with a furious Storm at East, so violent, that he was forced to let his Ship drive before it without any Sail, and so black, that within twenty eight days he could not take the height of the Sun. That he was at length cast upon a Shore, but whether Island or Continent, he could not tell, but full of savage People. That after infinite Toyls, Dangers and Miseries of Hunger and Sickness, he made at length, one of the *Tercera* Islands, with only five Men left, of seventeen he carried out, and meeting there with the famous *Columbo*, made him such Relations and so pertinent Accounts of his Voyage, as gave occasion for the discovery of *America*, or the *West-Indies*, by

by this Man so renowned in our Modern Story.

Whatever Predictions have been since found out or applyed towards the Discovery of this New World, or Stories told of a certain Prince in *Wales*, having run the same Fortune, or of the ancient *Carthaginians*, I do not find, by all I have read upon this Subject, any reason to believe, that any Mortals, from *Europe* or *Africa*, had ever traced these unknown Paths of that Western Ocean, or left the least Footsteps of having discovered those Countries, before *Alonso Sanchez* and his Crew. Upon the arrival of the *Spaniards* there with *Columbus*, they found Nature as naked as the Inhabitants; in most parts no thought of business, further than the most natural Pleasures or Necessities of Life; Nations divided by natural bounds of Rivers, Rocks or Mountains or difference of Language; Quarrels among them, only for Hunger or Lust; the Command in Wars, given to the strongest or the bravest, and in Peace, taken up or exercised by the boldest among them; and their Lives commonly spent in the most innocent entertainments, of Hunting, Fishing,

Feast-

Feasting, or in the most careless leisure.

There were among them many Principalities, that seemed to have grown up, from the Original of Paternal Dominion, and some Communities with Orders and Laws; but the two great Dominions, were those of *Mexico* and *Peru*, which had arrived to such Extent of Territory, Power and Riches, that amazed those, who had been enough acquainted with the Greatness and Splendour of the *European* Kingdoms. And I never met with any Story so entertaining, as the Relations of the several learned *Spanish* Jesuits and others, concerning these Countries and People, in their Native Innocence and Simplicity. *Mexico* was so vast an Empire, that it was well represented by the common Answer of the *Indians*, all along that Coast to the *Spaniards*, when they came to any part, and asked the People whether they were under *Montezuma*, *Quien noes esclavo de Montezuma?* Or, *Who is not a Slave of* Montezuma? as if they thought, the whole World was so. They might truly call it Slave, for no Dominion was ever so absolute, so tyrannous, and so cruel, as

His. Among other Tributes impoſed on the People, one was of Men, to be ſacrificed every year to an ugly deformed Idol, in the great Temple of *Mexico*. Such numbers as the King pleaſed of poor Victims, were laid upon ſuch Extents of Cities or Villages, or Numbers of Inhabitants, and there choſen by Lot, to ſatisfie ſuch bloody and inhuman Taxes. Theſe were often influenced by the Prieſts, who when they ſaw Men grow negligent, either in reſpect to themſelves, or Devotion to their Idols, would ſend to tell the King, that the Gods were hungry, and thereupon, the common Tribute was raiſed; ſo as that year, the *Spaniards* landed and invaded *Mexico*, there had been above thirty thouſand Men ſacrificed to this cruel Superſtition. And this was ſaid to have given great occaſion for the eaſie Conqueſts of the *Spaniards*, by the willing Revolts and Submiſſions of the Natives to any new Dominion.

The ſame was obſerved to happen in *Peru*, by the general hatred and averſion of the People in that Empire to *Atabualpa*, who being a Baſtard of the *Yncas* Family, had firſt by Practices and Sub-

Subtilty, and afterwards by Cruelty and Violence, raiſed himſelf to the Throne of *Peru*, and cut off with mercileſs Cruelty, all the Maſculine Race of the true Royal Blood, that were at Man's Eſtate or near it, after that Line had laſted pure and ſacred, and reigned with unſpeakable Felicity, both to themſelves and their Subjects, for above eight hundred years.

This Kingdom is ſaid to have extended near ſeven hundred Leagues in Length, from North to South, and about an hundred and twenty in Breadth; 'Tis bounded on the Weſt by the *Pacifick* Ocean; on the Eaſt by Mountains impaſſable for Men or Beaſts, and as ſome write, even Birds themſelves, the height being ſuch, as makes their Tops always covered with Snow, even in that warm Region. On the North 'tis bounded with a great River, and on the South with another, which ſeparates it from the Province of *Chili*, that reaches to the *Magellan* Straits.

The Kingdom of *Peru* deduced its Original from their great Heroes, *Mango Copac*, and his Wife and Siſter *Coya Mama*, who are ſaid to have firſt appeared in that Country, near a mighty

Lake, which is ſtill ſacred with them upon this occaſion.

Before this time, the People of theſe Countries are reported to have lived like the Beaſts among them, without any Traces of Orders, Laws or Religion, without other Food than from the Trees or the Herbs, or what Game they could catch, without further Proviſion than for preſent Hunger, without any Cloathing or Houſes, but dwelt in Rocks or Caves, or Trees, to be ſecure from Wild-Beaſts, or in Tops of Hills, if they were in fear of fierce Nighbours. When *Mango Copac* and his Siſter, came firſt into theſe naked Lands, as they were perſons of excellent Shape and Beauty, ſo they were adorned with ſuch cloaths as continued afterwards the uſual habit of the *Ynca*'s, by which Name they called themſelves. They told the People who came firſt about them, that they were the Son and Daughter of the Sun, and that their Father, taking pity of the miſerable Conditions of Mankind, had ſent them down to reclaim them, from thoſe beſtial Lives, and to inſtruct them how to live happily and ſafely, by obſerving ſuch Laws, Cuſtoms and Orders, as their Father the Sun had com-

commanded theſe his children to teach them. The great rule they firſt taught was, That every man ſhould live according to Reaſon, and conſequently, neither ſay nor do any thing to others, that they were not willing others ſhould ſay or do to them, becauſe it was againſt all common reaſon, to make one Law for our ſelves, and another for other people. And this was the great principle of all their Morality. In the next place, that they ſhould worſhip the Sun, who took care of the whole World, gave life to all Creatures, and made the Plants grow, and the Herbs fit for Food to maintain them; and was ſo careful and ſo good, as to ſpare no pains of his own, but to go round the World every day, to inſpect and provide for all that was upon it, and had ſent theſe his two Children down on purpoſe, for the good and happineſs of mankind, and to rule them with the ſame care and goodneſs that he did the World. After this, they taught them the Arts moſt neceſſary for Life, as *Mango Capac*, to ſow *Mayz* (or the common Indian Grain) at certain ſeaſons, to preſerve it againſt others, to build Houſes againſt inclemencies of Air, and danger of

Wild-beasts, to distinguish themselves by Wedlock into several Families, to cloath themselves, so as to cover at least the shame of Nakedness, to tame and nourish such Creatures, as might be of common use and sustenance. *Coya Mama* taught the Women to Spin and Weave, both Cotton, and certain course Wools of some Beasts among them.

With these Instructions and Inventions they were so much believed in all they said, and adored for what they did and taught of common utility, that they were followed by great numbers of People, observ'd and obey'd like Sons of the Sun, sent down from Heaven to instruct and to govern them. *Mango Capac* had in his Hand a rod of Gold about two Foot long, and five Inches round. He said, that his Father the Sun had given it him, and bid him when he travelled Northward from the Lake, he should every time he rested, strike this Wand down into the ground, and where at the first stroke it should go down to the very top, he should there build a Temple to the Sun, and fix the Seat of his Government.

This

This fell out to be in the Vale of *Cozco*, where he founded that City, which was head of this great Kingdom of *Peru*.

Here he divided his Company into two Colonies or Plantations, and called one the high *Caſco*, and t'other the low, and began here to be a Law-giver to theſe People. In each of theſe were at firſt a Thouſand Families, which he cauſed all to be Regiſtred, with the numbers in each. This he did by Strings of ſeveral Colours and Knots of ſeveral Kinds and Colours upon them, by which, both accounts were kept of things and times, and as much expreſſed of their minds, as was neceſſary in a Government, where neither Letters nor Money, nor conſequently Diſputes or Avarice, with their conſequences, ever entred.

He inſtituted Decurions thro both theſe Colonies, that is, one over every Ten Families, another over Fifty, a third over a hundred, a fourth over five Hundred, and a fifth over a Thouſand; and to this laſt, they gave the name of a Curaca or Governour. Every Decurion was a Cenſor, a Patron, and a Judge or Arbiter in ſmall Controverſies among

those under his charge. They took care that every one cloathed themselves, laboured, and lived according to the orders given them by the *Ynca's*, from their Father the Sun; among which one was, That none who could work, should be idle, more than to rest after labour; and that none who could not work, by Age, Sickness, or Invalidity, should want, but be maintain'd by the others pains. These were so much observed, that in the whole Empire of *Peru*, and during the long race of the *Ynca* Kings, no Beggar was ever known, and no Woman ever so much as went to see a Neighbour, but with their Work in their hands, which they followed all the time the Visit lasted. Upon this, I remember a strain of refin'd Civility among them, which was, that when any Woman went to see another of equal or ordinary Birth, she worked at her own Work in the others House, but if she made a Visit to any of the Palla's, (which was the name by which they called all the Women of the true Royal Blood, as Ynca's was that of the Men) then they immediately desired the Palla to give them a piece of her own Work, and the Visit passed in working for her.

Idle-

Idleneſs, ſentenced by the Decurions, was puniſhed by ſo many Stripes in publick, and the diſgrace was more ſenſible than the pain. Every Colony had one ſupreme Judge, to whom the lower *Decurions* remitted great and difficult caſes, or to whom (in ſuch caſe) the Criminals appealed. But every *Decurion* that concealed any Crime of thoſe under his Charge above a day and a night, became guilty of it, and lyable to the ſame puniſhment. There were Laws or Orders likewiſe againſt Theft, Mutilations, Murthers, Diſobedience to Officers, and Adulteries (for every Man was to have one lawful Wife, but had the liberty of keeping other Women, as he could) The puniſhment of all Crimes, was either Corporal pains, or death, but commonly the laſt, upon theſe two reaſons which they gave; firſt, That all Crimes whether great or ſmall, were of the ſame nature, and deſerved the ſame puniſhment, if they were committed againſt the Divine Commands, which were ſent them down from the Sun: Next, that to puniſh any Man in his Poſſeſſions or Charges, and leave him alive and in ſtrength and liberty, was to leave an ill Man more incenſed,

or

or neceſſitated to commit new Crimes. On t'other ſide, they never forfeited the Charge or Poſſeſſions of a Son for his Fathers Offences, but the Judges only remonſtrated to him the guilt and puniſhment of them for his warning or example. Theſe Orders had ſo great force and effect, that many times a whole year paſſed without the execution of one Criminal.

There is no doubt, but that which contributed much to this great order in the State, was the diſuſe of other poſſeſſions than what were neceſſary to Life, and the eminent Vertue of their firſt great Hero or Legiſlator, which ſeemed to have been entayled upon their whole Race in the courſe of their Reign: So as in the whole length of it 'tis reported among them, that no true *Inca* was ever found guilty or puniſhed for any Crime. Thus particular qualities have been obſerved in old *Rome*, to be conſtant in the ſame Families for ſeveral hundred years, as Goodneſs, Clemency, Love of the People in that of the *Valerij*, Haughtineſs, Pride, Cruelty, and Hatred of the People in that of the *Appij*, which may come from the force of Blood, of Education, or Example.

ample. 'Tis certain, no Government was ever eſtabliſhed and continued by greater Examples of Vertue and Severity, nor any ever gave greater teſtimonies, than the *Ynca's*, of an excellent Inſtitution, by the progreſſes and ſucceſſes, both in the propagation and extent of Empire, in force and plenty, in greatneſs and magnificence of all publick works, as Temples, Palaces, High-ways, Bridges, and in all Proviſions neceſſary to common eaſe, ſafety, and utility of human Life; So as ſeveral of the Jeſuits, and particularly *Acoſta*, are either ſo juſt or ſo preſuming as to prefer the Civil Conſtitutions of *Mango-Capac* before thoſe of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, *Solon*, or any other Law-givers ſo celebrated in the more known parts of the World.

To every Colony was aſſigned ſuch a compaſs of Land, whereof one part was appropriated to the Sun, a ſecond to the Widows, Orphans, Poor, Old or Maimed; A third to the peculiar maintenance of every Family, according to their number; and a fourth to the *Ynca*. In this order the whole was Tilled, and the Harveſt or Product, laid up in ſeveral Granaries; out of which it

it was distributed by officers to that purpose, according to the several uses for which it was designed, and new Seed issued out at the Season for the new Tillage.

Every Decurion, besides the Office of a Censor and Judge, had that likewise of a Patron or Solliciter, for relief of the Necessities or Wants of those under his Charge. They were bound to give in to the publick Registers an Account of all that were Born, and of all that dyed under their Charge. None was suffered to leave the Colony or People he was born in, without leave, nor to change the Habit commonly used in it, by some part or marks whereof those of each Province were distinguished. None to marry out of it, no more than the *Inca*'s out of their own Blood.

The *Inca* that reigned was called *Capa Inca*, which the *Spaniards* interpret *Solo Seignor*, or *only Lord*. He ever married the first of his Female Kindred, either Sister, Niece, or Cousin, to preserve the Line the purest they could. Once in two years he assembled all the unmarried *Inca*'s, Men above Twenty, and Women above Sixteen years old, and there in publick married all such as he

he thought fit, by giving each of their Hands one to the other. The same was done among the Vulgar, by the *Curaca* of each People.

Every Family at their time of Meals, eat with their Doors open, so that all might see their Temperance and Order.

By these, and other such Laws and Institutions, *Mango Capac* first setled his Government or Kingdom in the Colonies of *Cozco*, which were in time multiplyed into many others, by the willing confluence and recourse of many several People round about him, allured by the Divine Authority of his Orders, by the sweetness and Clemency of his Reign, and by the Felicity of all that lived under it; and indeed, the whole Government of this Race of the *Ynca's*, was rather like that of a tender Father over his Children, or a just, careful, and well-natur'd Guardian over Pupils, than of a Lord or Commander over Slaves or Subjects. By which they came to be so honoured or adored, that it was like Sacrilledge for any common person so much as to touch the *Ynca* without his leave; which was given as a Grace to those who served him well,

well, or to new Subjects that submitted to him.

After the extent of his Kingdom into great compasses of Territory round *Cozco*, by voluntary submission of the People, as to some Evangelical rather than Legal Doctrines or Institutions; *Mango-Copac* assembled all his Curaca's, and told them, that his Father the Sun had commanded him to extend his Institutions and Orders as far as he was able, for the good and happiness of Mankind; and for that purpose, with Armed Troops to go to those remoter parts that had not yet received them, and to reduce them to their Observance. That the Sun had commanded him to hurt or offend none that would submit to him, and thereby accept of the good and happiness that was offered him by such Divine Bounty, but to distress only such as refused, without killing any that did not assayl them, and then to do it justly in their own defence.

For this design, he formed and assembled Troops of Men, Armed both with Offensive, and chiefly with Defensive Weapons. He cast them into the Order of *Decurions*, in the same manner as he had done Families; To every

every Ten Men was one Officer, another to Fifty, and another to One Hundred, a Fourth to Five Hundred, and a Fifth to a Thouſand. There was a Sixth over Five Thouſand, and a Seventh as a General, over Ten Thouſand; of which number his firſt Army was compoſed.

With this and other ſuch Armies, he reduced many new Territories under his Empire, declaring to every People he approached, the ſame things he had done firſt to thoſe who came about him near the great Lake, and offering them the benefit of the Arts he had taught, the Orders he had inſtituted, the Protection he had given his Subjects, and the Felicity they enjoyed under it. Thoſe who ſubmitted were received into the ſame Rights and Enjoyments with the reſt of his Subjects. Thoſe who refuſed were diſtreſſed, and purſued by his Forces till they were neceſſitated to accept of his Offers and Conditions. He uſed no Offenſive Weapons againſt any till they attacqued them, and then Defenſive only at firſt, till the danger and ſlaughter of his Men grew otherwiſe unavoidable; Then he ſuffered his Forces to fall upon them, and kill without

out Mercy, and not to ſpare even thoſe that yielded themſelves, after having ſo long and obſtinately reſiſted. Thoſe who ſubmitted after the firſt Threats or Diſtreſſes, or Bloodleſs Oppoſition, he received into Grace, ſuffered them to touch his Sacred Perſon, made great and common Feaſts for them and his own Soldiers together for ſeveral days, and then incorporated them into the Body of his Empire, and gave to each of them Cloathes to Wear, and Corn to Sow.

By theſe ways, and ſuch Heroick Vertues, and by the length of his Reign, he ſo far extended his Dominions, as to divide them into four Provinces, over each whereof he appointed an *Ynca* to be a Viceroy (having many Sons grown fit to Command) and in each of them eſtabliſhed three Supream Councils, the firſt of Juſtice, the ſecond of War, and the third of the Revenue, of which an *Ynca* was likewiſe Preſident, which continued ever after.

At the end of a long and adored Reign, *Mango-Copac* fell into the laſt Period of his Life; upon the approach whereof, he called together all his Children and Grand-children, with his eldeſt

eſt Son, to whom he left his Kingdom: And told them, that for his own part he was going to repoſe himſelf with his Father the Sun from whom he came; that he adviſed and charged them all, to go on in the paths of Reaſon and Virtue which he had taught them, till they followed him the ſame Journey; that by this courſe only, they would prove themſelves to be true Sons of the Sun, and be as ſuch honoured and eſteemed. He gave the ſame Charge more eſpecially, and more earneſtly to the *Ynca* his Succeſſor, and commanded him to govern his People according to his Example, and the Precepts he had recieved from the Sun; and to do it always with Juſtice, Mercy, Piety, Clemency, and Care of the Poor; and when he the Prince ſhould go in time to reſt with his Father the Sun, that he ſhould give the ſame Inſtructions and Exhortations to his Succeſſor. And this Form was accordingly uſed in all the Succeſſions of the Race of the *Ynca's*, which laſted eight hundred years with the ſame Orders, and the greateſt Felicity that could be of any State.

I will say nothing of the greatness, magnificence and riches of their Buildings, Palaces, or Temples, especially those of the Sun; of the Splendour of their Court, their Triumphs after Victories, their Huntings and Feasts, their Military Exercises and Honours. But as testimonies of their Grandeur, mention only two of their High-ways, whereof one was Five Hundred Leagues, plain and levelled through Mountains, Rocks and Valleys, so that a Carriage might drive through that whole length without difficulty. Another very long and large, paved all with cut or squared Stone, fenced with low Walls on each side, and set with Trees, whose Branches gave Shade, and the Fruits Food, to all that passed.

I shall end this Survey of their Government, with one Remarque upon their Religion, which is, that though the Vulgar worshiped only the Sun, yet the *Amautas*, who were their Sages or Philosophers, taught, that the Sun was only the great Minister of *Pachacamac*, whom they adored in the first place, and to whom a great and sumptuous Temple was dedicated. This word is interpreted by the *Spaniard*, *Animador del*

del Mundo, or, *He that animates or enlivens the World*, and ſeems to be yet a more refined Notion of the Diety, than that of the *Chineſes*, who adored the Spirit and Soul of the World. By this principle of their Religion, as all the others of their Government and Policy, it muſt, I think, be allowed, that Human Nature is the ſame in theſe remote, as well as the other more known and celebrated parts of the World. That the different Governments of it are framed and cultivated, by as great reaches and ſtrength of Reaſon and of Wiſdom, as any of ours, and ſome of their frames leſs ſubject to be ſhaken by the Paſſions, Factions, and other Corruptions, to which thoſe in the middle Scene of *Europe* and *Aſia*, have been ſo often and ſo much expoſed. That the ſame Cauſes produce every where the ſame Effects, and that the ſame Honours and Obedience, are in all places but Conſequences or Tributes paid to the ſame Heroick Vertue, or Tranſcendent Genius, in what parts ſoever, or under what Clymates of the World it fortunes to appear.

SECT. IV.

THE third Survey I propoſed to make in this Eſſay upon Heroick Vertue, was that of the Northern Region, which lies without the Bounds of the *Euxin* and the *Caſpian* Seas, the River *Oxus* to the Eaſt, and the *Danube* to the Weſt, which by the *Greeks* and *Romans* was called all by one general name of *Scythia*, and little known to any Princes or Subjects of the four great Monarchies, otherwiſe than by the defeats or diſgraces received in their Expeditions againſt theſe fierce Inhabitants of thoſe barren Countries: Such was the fatal overthrow of *Cyrus* and his Army by the Eaſtern *Scythians*, and the ſhameful flight of *Darius* from the Weſtern.

This vaſt Region which extends from the North-Eaſt Ocean, that bounds *Cataya* and *China* to the North-Weſt, that waſhes the Coaſts of *Norway*, *Jutland*, and ſome Northern parts of *Germany*, though compriſed by the Ancients under the

the common name of *Scythia* was distinguished into the *Asiatick* and the *European*, which were divided by the River *Tanais*, and the Mountains out of which it rises. Those numerous Nations may be called the Eastern *Scythians*, who lye on that side of the *Tanais*, or at least the *Volga*, and those the Western that lye on this. Among the first, the *Massagetæ* were the most known or talkt of by the ancient Writers; and among the last, the *Getæ* and the *Sarmatæ*. The first is now comprehended under the general name of great *Tartary*, and the second under those of the lesser *Tartary*, *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*; the two last styling themselves Kings of the *Gothi* and *Vandals*.

How far this vast Territory is inhabited Northward by any Race of Mankind, I think none pretends to know, nor from how remote Corners of those Frozen Mountains, some of those fierce Nations first crept out, whose Force and Arms have been so known and felt, by all the rest of what was of Old called the Habitable World.

Whether it be that the course of Conquest has run generally from the North to the South, as from the harder upon

the ſofter, or from the poorer upon the richer Nations, becauſe Men commonly Attacque with greater fierceneſs and courage than they Defend, being in one ſpirited by deſire, and in the other uſually damped by Fear; I cannot tell, but certain it is, how celebrated ſoever the four great Monarchies have been, by the Writings of ſo many famous Authors, who have Eternized their Fame, and thereby their own; yet there is no part of the World that was ever ſubject to *Aſſyrian*, *Perſian*, *Greek*, or *Roman* Empires (except perhaps ſome little Iſlands) that has not been Ravaged and Conquered by ſome of thoſe Northern Nations, whom they reckoned and deſpiſed as Barbarous; Nor where new Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, or Governments, have not been by them erected upon the ruins of the Old, which may juſtly Mortifie the Pride of Mankind, the Depths of their Reaſonings, the Reach of their Politicks, the Wiſdom of their Laws, and Force of their Diſcipline, and may be allowed for a great and undiſputed Triumph of Nature over Art.

'Tis agreed in Story, that the *Scythians* conquered the *Medes*, during the

period of that Race in the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and were Maſters of *Aſia* for fifteen years, till they returned home upon Domeſtick occaſions. That *Cyrus* was beaten and ſlain by their Fury and Revenge, under the leading of a Woman, whoſe Wit and Conduct made a great Figure in ancient Story; That the *Romans* were defeated by the *Parthians*, who were of the *Scythian* Race.

But the great Hero of the Eaſtern *Scythians* or *Tartars*, I eſteem to have been *Tamerlane*; and whether he was Son of a Shepherd or a King, to have been the greateſt Conqueror that was ever in the World, at leaſt that appears upon any preſent Records of Story. His Atchievements were great upon *China*, where he ſubdued many Provinces, and forced their King to ſuch Conditions of a Peace, as he was content to impoſe. He made War againſt the *Muſcovites* with the ſame ſucceſs, and partly by force, partly by conſent, gained a paſſage through their Territories for that vaſt Army, which he led againſt *Bajazet* (then the Terror of the World.) He conquered this proud Turk and his whole Empire, as far as the *Helleſpont*.

which he croſſed, and made a Viſit to the poor Greek Emperor at *Conſtantinople*, who had ſent to make Allyance with him upon his firſt Invaſion of *Bajazet*, at whoſe Mercy this Prince then almoſt lay, with the ſmall remainders of the *Grecian* Empire. Nothing was greater or more Heroical in this Victorious *Tamerlane*, than the Faith and Honour wherewith he obſerved this Allyance with the Greeks; For having been received at *Conſtantinople*, with all the Submiſſions that could be made him, having viewed and admired the Greatneſs and Structure of that Noble City, and ſaid, it was fit to make the Seat for the Empire of the World; and having the offer of it freely made him by the *Greeks* to poſſeſs it for his own, yet after many Honours exchanged between theſe two Princes, he left this City in the freedom, and the *Greek* Emperor in the Poſſeſſions he found them, went back into *Aſia*, and in his return Conquered *Syria*, *Perſia*, and *India*, where the great *Moguls* have ever ſince boaſted to be the Race of *Tamerlane*. After all theſe Conqueſts he went home, and paſſed the reſt of his Age in his own Native Kingdom, and dyed a fair and natu-

natural Death, which was a ſtrain of Felicity as well as Greatneſs, beyond any of the Conquerors of the Four renowned Monarchies of the World. He was without queſtion, a Great and Heroick Genius, of great Juſtice, exact Diſcipline, generous Bounty, and much Piety, adoring one God, though he was neither Chriſtian, Jew, nor Mahometan, and deſerved a nobler Character than could be allowed by modern Writers, to any perſon of a Nation ſo unlike themſelves.

The *Turks* were another Race of theſe Eaſtern *Scythians*, their Original Country being placed by ſome upon the North-East, by others upon the North-Weſt Coaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea, and perhaps both may have contributed to furniſh ſuch numbers as have over-run ſo great a part of *Aſia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*. But I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of them and their Conqueſts in the next Section.

That part of *Scythia* that lies between the two Rivers of the *Volga* and *Boriſthenes*, whereof the one runs into the *Caſpian*, and t'other into the *Euxine* Sea, was the Seat of the *Getæ*, whom *Herodotus* mentions, as then known by the

the name of *Getæ immortales*, because they believed that when they dyed, they should go to *Zamolxis*, and enjoy a new life in another World, at least such of them as lived according to his Orders and Institutions, who had been a great Prince or Law-giver among them. From this name of *Getæ* came that of *Gothæ*, and this part of *Scythia*, in its whole Northern extent, I take to have been the vast Hive out of which issued so many mighty Swarms of Barbarous Nations, who under the several names of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Lombards*, *Huns*, *Bulgars*, *Francs*, *Saxons*, and many others, broke in at several times and places upon the several Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, like so many Tempests, tore in pieces the whole Fabrick of that Government, framed many new ones in its room, changed the Inhabitants, language, Customs, Laws, the usual names of Places and of Men, and even the very Face of Nature where they came, and planted new Nations and Dominions in their room. Thus *Italy*, after many Spoils and Invasions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, came to be possessed by the *Lombards*, *Pannonia* by the *Huns*, *Thracia* by the *Bulgars*,

the

the Southern parts of *Spain* or *Andaluzia* by the *Vandals*, the East or *Catalonia*, by the *Catti* and *Alani*; the rest of that Continent by the *Goths*. *Gaul* was subdued by the *Franks*, and *Britain* by the *Saxons*; both which Nations are thought to have come anciently from the more Northern Regions, and seated themselves in those parts of *Germany*, that were afterwards called by their names, from whence they proceeded in time to make their later Conquests. The *Scutes* who Conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and possessed them under the Names of *Albin Scutes*, and *Irin Scutes*, I guess to have come from *Norway*, and to have retained more of the ancient *Scythians* (before the *Goths* came into those parts), both in their Language and Habit, as that of Mantles, and in the custom of removing from one part to another, according to the Seasons or conveniences of Pasture. The *Normans* that came into *France*, I take likewise to be a later Race from *Norway*, but after the *Gothick* Orders and Institutions had gained more Footing in that Province.

The Writers of those times content themselves to lay the Disgraces and Ruins of their Countries, upon the numbers

bers and fierceneſs of theſe Savage Nations that invaded them, or upon their own diſunions and diſorders, that made way for ſo eaſie Conqueſts: But I cannot believe, that the ſtrange ſucceſſes and Victorious Progreſſes of theſe Northern Conquerors, ſhould have been the effect only of Tumultuary Arms and Numbers, or that Governments erected by them, and which have laſted ſo long in *Europe*, ſhould have been framed by unreaſonable or unthinking Men. 'Tis more likely, that there was among them ſome force of Order, ſome reach of Conduct, as well as ſome Principle of Courage above the common Strain; that ſo ſtrange Adventures could not be atchieved, but but by ſome enchanted Knights.

That which firſt gave me this thought, was the reflection upon thoſe Verſes in *Lucan.*

——Populos quos deſpicit Arctos
Felices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget lethi metus, inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animiq; capaces
Mortis, & ignavum reditura parcere vitæ.

Happy

Happy in their Miſtake thoſe People whom
The Northern Pole Aſpects, whom fear of
Death,
(The greateſt of all human fears) ne'r
moves;
From hence their Courage prove to ruſh on
Steel,
Their Minds deſpiſing Death, they think
it mean
To ſpare a Life that muſt again return.

By this paſſage it appears, that ſixteen hundred years ago thoſe Northern People were diſtinguiſh'd from all others, by a fearleſsneſs of Death, grounded upon the belief of another Life, which made them deſpiſe the care of preſerving this.

Whether ſuch an Opinion were firſt infuſed among them by *Zamolxis*, and propagated by *Odin* among his Followers, or by Him invented, I will not conjecture; it may have been either one or t'other, ſince the *Goths* Heled into the Northweſt parts of *Europe* are agreed to have come from the *Getæ*, who are placed near the River *Tanais*. For thoſe vaſt *Scythian* Regions were divided into infinite ſeveral Nations, ſepa-

ſeparated by the common natural Bounds of Rivers, Lakes, Mountains, Woods or Marſhes. Each of theſe Countries, was like a mighty Hive, which by the vigour of Propagation, and health of Clymat, growing too full of People, threw out ſome new Swarm at certain periods of time that took Wing, and ſought out ſome new abode, expelling or ſubduing the old Inhabitants, and ſeating themſelves in their rooms, if they liked the conditions of place and commodities of Life they met with; if not, going on till they found ſome other more agreeable to their preſent Humours or Diſpoſitions. Sometimes the expelled Nations took heart, and when they fled from one Country, invaded another, and revenged the Injuries of ſome cruel Neighbours upon others that were weaker but more innocent, and ſo like Waves, thruſt on one the other, for mighty length of Space or Countries. Sometimes the Conquerors augmented their Numbers and Forces with the ſtrongeſt and moſt adventurous of thoſe Nations they firſt invaded, by their voluntary acceſſion into the ſhares or hopes of their future Fortunes, and ſo went on to further Conqueſts.

The

The usual manner of these Expeditions, was, That when a Country grew too full of People for the growth of it to supply, they assembled together all that were fit to bear Arms, and divided themselves into two Bands, whereof one stayed at home, to inhabit and defend their own, and t'other went to seek new Adventures, and possess some other they could gain by force of Arms, and this was done sometimes by lot, and sometimes by agreement between the two Divisions. That Band or Colony that went abroad chose their Leader, among those in most repute and esteem for Wisdom or for Courage, and these were their Commanders or Generals in War; and if they lived and succeeded, were the first Princes of those Countries they Conquer'd, and chose for the Seat of their new Colony or Kingdom.

It seems agreed by the curious Enquirers into the Antiquities of the Runick Language and Learning, that

Excerpta en Edda.

Hic Odinus Fatidicus erat, ut & ejus Conjux, unde nomen suum in Septentrione præ cunctis Regibus maxime celebratum ici prævidit. Hâc motus causâ ex Turcia iter molitus erat, adjuncto sibi magno numero militum Juvenum & Seniorum utriusq; sexus Quascunq; terras peragrarunt, divinis efferebantur encomiis, Diis quam homi-

Odin

nibus similiores ab universis judicati, nec prius subsistiterunt quàm terram ingressi essent quæ nunc Saxonia appellatur, ubi per multos annos Odinus vixit, istamq; Regionem late possedit, quam cum distribuisset inter Filios, ita ut Vagdeggo Orientalem Saxoniam, Begdego Westphaliam, Siggo Franconiam determinavit; Ipse in aliam migravit regionem, quæ tunc Reidgotolandia dicebatur, & quicquid ibi placuit sibi vindicavit. Huic terræ præfecit filium Skioldam ex quo Freidlefius genitus est cujus posteri Skioldungæ sive Skioldiades nominantur, à qua stirpe Daniæ Reges descenderunt, ista Reidgotolandia, nunc Jutlandia appellatur.

Ex Snorrone.

Odinus Heros in Asgardia prope Tanaim, Sacrorum Gentilium Summus antistes, duodecim Senatores qui cæteris pietate & sapientia præstarent Religioni curandæ & Juri dicundo præfecit. Hic magnanimus & fortis bellator innumeras regna ditionesq; suam redegit in potestatem. Manus ducum suorum vertici imponens eos consecrabat, qui in pugnam euntes nomen Odini nuncupabant. Othinus fratribus suis Regnum Asgardiæ commisit, ipse in Russiam profectus & inde in Saxoniam, eam sibi subjugavit, & filiis in regendum commisit. Insoliti generis miracula variis exercuit præstigiis. Magisterium publicum Magiæ præcipiendæ instituit: In varias formarum specie se transmu-

Odin or *Woden* or *Goden* (according to the different Northern Dialects) was the first and great Hero of the Western *Scythians*. That he led a mighty Swarm of the *Getes* under the name of *Goths*, from the *Asiatick Scythia* into the fartheſt Northweſt parts of *Europe*: That he ſeated & ſpred his Kingdom round the whole Baltick Sea, and over all the Iſlands in it, and extended it Weſtward to the Ocean, & Southward

tate noverat, tantâ eloquii dulcedine audientes demulcere poterat ut dictis ejus nullatenus non fidem adhiberent. Carminibus inter loquendum crebrò prolatis miram sermoni gratiam conciliabat. Tantâ indicandorum oculorum peritiâ callebat, ut sæpe corpus suum velut spiritu suppresso humi prosterneret, Krigillam se longinquas oras peregrasse, & quid ibi rerum gereretur comperisse asseverabat. Ad summum Runis suis & incantationibus incredibilia patrando tam clarum sibi nomen peperit ut sapientiæ & potentiæ suæ & Asianorum per omnes brevi nationes fit debitum, quò evenit ut Sueci aliiq; populi Boreales Odino Sacrificia dependerent. Post obitum multis apparuit, multis victoriam contulit, alios in Walhalla, id est, aulam Plutonis invitavit.

ward to the *Elve*, (which was anciently esteemed the Bound between the *Scythians* and the *Germans*.) That this vast Country was in the ancient *Gothick* term called *Biarmia*, and is by some Authors termed, *Officina Gentium*, having furnish'd all those Swarms of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Saxons*, *Angles*, *Jutes*, *Danes*, *Normans* which so often infested, and at length subdued all the Western Provinces of *Europe*. Some write, that He extended his Conquests even as far as *Franconia* it self; but all agree, that this *Odin* was the first Inventor of, or at least the first Engraver of the Runick Letters or Characters, sometimes so famous, and at last so infamous in the World, by the vulgar Opinion and imputation of all sorts

of Charms, Enchantments or Witchcrafts to the use and force of those strange Characters. That he instituted many excellent Orders and Laws, made the distinction of Seasons, the divisions of time, was an invincible Warrior, a wise Law-giver, loved and obeyed during Life by his Subjects, and after his Death adored as one of their three chief Gods, amongst which he was the God of War, *Thor* of Thunder and Tempests, *Frea* of Pleasure, by whose Names, for an eternal Memory, three days of the Week are called.

I will not enter into His Story, nor that of His Succession, or the infinite and famous Revolutions it produced in the World, nor into the more curious search of the time of his Expedition, which must have been very ancient, and is thereby left doubted and undetermined: But if it be true, that He was Inventor of the Runick Characters, some Writers of that Language will make Him older than *Evander*, by affirming their Runick Letters to have been more antient than the Latin, which were first brought into *Italy* in His time. For my own part, I should guess, by all I have perused of those Antiquities, that this Expe-

Expedition may have been made two thouſand years ago or thereabouts. So much is true, that the *Runes* were for long periods of time in uſe, upon materials more laſting than any others imployed to that purpoſe; for inſtead of Leaves or Barks, or Wax or Parchments, theſe were engraven upon Stone or Planks of Oaks, upon artificial Obelisks or Pillars, and even upon natural Rocks, in great numbers and extent of Lines. But more of this Runick Subject will occur upon that of Poetry; and I ſhall only obſerve, among the Conſtitutions of theſe Northern People, three Principles of a ſtrain very extraordinary, and perhaps peculiar to themſelves, and which extend very far into the Fortunes and Conqueſts of their Arms, and into the force and duration of their Kingdoms. The firſt of theſe is a Principle of Religion or Superſtition, the next of Learning, and the laſt of Policy or Civil Government.

Whether the firſt were deduced from that of *Zamolxis*, among the *Getes* ſtyled of old Immortals, or introduced by *Odin* among the Weſtern *Goths*, 'tis certain, that an Opinion was fixed and general among them, That Death was but

the entrance into another Life; that all men who lived lazy and unactive Lives and died natural Deaths, by Sickneſs or by Age, went into vaſt Caves under ground, all dark and miry, full of noyſom Creatures uſual in ſuch places, and there for ever grovelled in endleſs ſtench and miſery. On the contrary, all who gave themſelves to warlike Actions and Enterpriſes, to the Conqueſt of their Neighbours and Slaughter of Enemies, and died in Battle, or of violent Deaths upon bold Adventures or Reſolutions, they went immediately to the vaſt Hall or Palace of *Odin*, their God of War, who eternally kept open Houſe for all ſuch Gueſts, where they were entertained at infinite Tables, in perpetual Feaſts and Mirth, carowſing every Man in Bowls made of the Sculls of their Enemies they had ſlain, according to which numbers every one in theſe Manſions of Pleaſure was the moſt honoured and the beſt entertained.

How this Opinion was printed in the Minds of theſe fierce Mortals, and what effect it had upon their Thoughts and Paſſions, concerning Life and Death, as it is touched elegantly in thoſe Verſes of *Lucan* before recited, ſo it is lively repre-

represented in the twenty fifth and twenty ninth Stanza of that Song or Epicedium of *Regner Ladbrog*, one of their famous Kings, which He compoſed in the Runick Language, about eight hundred years ago, after He was mortally ſtung by a Serpent, and before the Venom ſeized upon His Vitals. The whole Sonnet is recited by *Olaus Wormius* in his *Literatura Runica* (who has very much deſerved from the Commonwealth of Learning) and is very well worth reading, by any that love Poetry; and to conſider the ſeveral ſtamps of that Coyn, according to ſeveral Ages and Climats. But that which is extraordinary in it, is, that ſuch an alacrity or pleaſure in dying, was never expreſſed in any other Writing, nor imagined among any other People. The two Stanzaes are thus tranſlated into Latin by *Olaus*.

Stanza XXV.

Pugnavimus enſibus,
Hoc ridere me facit ſemper
Quod Balderi Patris Scamna
Parata ſcio in aula,
Bibemus cerevifiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum,
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem

Magnifici in Odini domibus,
Non venio desperabundus
Verbis ad Othini aulam.

Stanza XXIX.

Fert animus finire,
Invitant me Dysæ
Quas ex Odini aula
Othinus mihi misit
Lætus cerevisiam cum Asis
In summa sede bibam
Vitæ elapsæ sunt horæ,
Ridens Moriar.

I am deceived, if in this Sonnet, and a following Ode of *Scallogrim*, (which was likewise made by him after he was condemned to die, and deserved his pardon for a Reward) there be not a vein truly Poetical, and in its kind Pindarick, taking it with the allowance of the different Climats, Fashions, Opinions, and Languages of such distant Countries.

I will not trouble my self with more passages out of these Runick Poems, concerning this superstitious Principle, which is so perfectly represented in these, with the possession it had taken of the noblest Souls among them; for such this *Lodbrog* appears to have been, by his

his perpetual Wars and Victories in thoſe Northern Continents, and in *England Scotland* and *Ireland*. But I will add a Teſtimony of it, which was given me at *Nimeguen*, by Count *Oxenſtern* the firſt of the Swediſh Ambaſſadors in that Aſſembly. In diſcourſe upon this Subject, and confirmation of this Opinion having been general among the *Goths* of thoſe Countries; He told me, there was ſtill in *Sueden* a place which was a memorial of it, and was called *Odinſhall*. That it was a great Bay in the Sea, encompaſſed on three ſides with ſteep and ragged Rocks; that in the time of the Gothick Paganiſm, men that were either ſick of Diſeaſes they eſteemed mortal or incurable, or elſe grown invalid with Age, and thereby paſt all military Action, and fearing to die meanly and baſely (as they eſteemed it) in their Beds, they uſually cauſed themſelves to be brought to the neareſt part of theſe Rocks, and from thence threw themſelves down into the Sea, hoping by the boldneſs of ſuch a violent Death, to renew the pretence of Admiſſion into the Hall of *Odin*, which they had loſt, by failing to die in Combat and by Arms.

What effect such a Principle (suck'd in with Instruction and Education, and well believed) must have upon the Passions and Actions of a People naturally strong and brave, is easie to conceive, and how far it went beyond all the strains of the boldest and firmest Philosophy; for this reached no farther than Constancy in Death, or Indifferency in the Opinion of that or of Life; but the other infused a scorn of Life, and a desire of Death; nay, fear and aversion even for a natural Death, with pursuit and longing for a violent one (contrary to the general Opinions of all other Nations) so as they took delight in War and Dangers, as others did in Hunting, or such active Sports, and sought as much for the hopes of Death as of Victory, and found as much pleasure in the supposed Advantages and Consequences of one, as in the real Enjoyments of the other. This made them perpetually in new motions or designs, fearless and fierce in the execution of them, and never caring in Battle to preserve their Lives, longer than to increase the Slaughter of their Enemies, and thereby their own Renown here, and Felicity hereafter.

Their

Their decisions of Right and Just were by Arms, and mortal Combats allowed by Laws, approved by Princes, assisted by formal Judges, and determined by Death or Victory. From hence came all those Jousts, and Tilings and Turnaments, so long in use, and so much celebrated in these parts of the World. Their Marriage-Feasts were solemnized by Launces and Swords, by Blows, by Wounds, and sometimes by Death, till that Custom was disgraced by the deplorable End of *Henry* the Second of *France*, and the fatal Launce of *Montgomery*. From hence came the long use of legal and of single Combats, when the right of Titles or Lands was difficult; or when a person accused of any Crime denied absolutely what his Accuser positively affirmed, and no other proof could on either side be produced. 'Tis known in Story how long and how frequent this was in use among all the Gothick Races, and in the several Kingdoms or Principalities erected by them, even after the Profession of Christianity among them. When it grew too infamous upon the entrance of Learning and Civility, and the Laws were ashamed of allowing Tryals of Blood and Violence,

yet

yet the Custom could not be extinguish'd, but made way for that of private Duels, and for the Lye, being accounted a just ground of Fighting in point of Honour, because it had been so in point of Law during the barbarous Ages. This seems to have begun upon the famous Challenge that passed between *Charles* the Fifth and *Francis* the First, which though without effect, yet 'tis enough known and lamented how much of the bravest Blood of Christendom has been spilt by that example, especially in *France* during the several succeeding Reigns, till it seems to have been extinguish'd by the just Severity, and to the just Honour of the present King.

But to return to the bold Authors of these Customs (unknown to the *Greek* and *Roman* Nations) Their Bodies indeed were hard and strong, their Minds rough and fierce, their Numbers infinite, which was owing perhaps all to their Clymat. But besides these advantages, their Courage was undaunted, their Business was War, their Pleasures were Dangers, their very Sports were Martial: Their Disputes and Processes were decided by Arms; they feared nothing but too long Life, decays of Age,

Age, and a natural or ſlothful Death; any Violent or Bloody they deſired and purſued, and all this from their Opinion of one being ſucceeded by Miſeries, the other by Felicities of a future and a longer Life.

For my part, when I conſider the force of this Principle, I wonder not at the effects of it, their numerous Conqueſts, nor immenſity of Countries they ſubdued, nor that ſuch ſtrange Adventures ſhould have been finiſhed by ſuch enchanted Men. But when Chriſtianity introduced among them, gave an end to theſe Deluſions, the reſtleſs humour of perpetual Wars and Action was likewiſe allayed, and they turned their thoughts to the eſtabliſhment of their ſeveral Kingdoms, in the Provinces they had ſubdued and choſen for their Seats, and applied themſelves to the Orders and Conſtitutions of their Civil or Political Governments.

Their Principle of Learning, was, That all they had among them was applied to the knowledge and diſtinction of Seaſons, by the courſe of the Stars, and to the prognoſticks of Weather, or elſe to the praiſes of Vertue, which conſiſted among them only, in Juſtice to their

their own Nation, and Valour against their Enemies; and the rest was employed in displaying the brave and heroic Exploits of their Princes and Leaders, and the Prowess and Conquests of their Nation: All their Writings were composed in Verse, which were called *Runes* or *Vises*, and from thence the term of Wise came: And these Poets or Writers being esteemed the Sages among them, were as such, always employed in the attendance upon their Princes, both in Courts and Camps, being used to advise in their Conduct, and to record their Actions, and celebrate their Praises and Triumphs. The traces of these Customs have been seen within the compass of this very Age, both in *Hungary* and *Ireland*, where, at their Feasts it was usual to have these kind of Poets entertain the Company with their rude Songs, or Panegyricks of their Ancestors bold Exploits, among which, the number of Men that any of them had slain with their own hands, was the chief ingredient in their praises. By these, they rewarded the Prowess of the old Men among them, and inflamed the Courage of the young, to equal the boldness and atchievments of those that had

had travelled before them in these paths of Glory.

The Principle of Politick or Civil Government in these Northern Nations, seems derived from that which was Military among them. When a new Swarm was upon the Wing, they chose a Leader or General for the Expedition, and at the same time the chief Officers to command the several Divisions of their Troops; these were a Council of War to the General, with whom they advised, in the whole progress of their Enterprise, but upon great occasions, as a Pitcht Battle, any military exploit of great difficulty and danger, the choice of a Country to fix their Seat, or the Conditions of Peace that were proposed, they assembled their whole Troops, and consulted with all the Soldiers or People they commanded. This *Tacitus* observes, to have been in use among the *German* Princes in his time, to consult of smaller Affairs with the chief Officers, but *De Majoribus omnes*.

If a Leader of these Colonies succeeded in his attempts, and conquer'd a new Country, where by common consent they thought fit to reside, he grew a Prince of that Country while he lived,

lived and when he dyed, another was choſen to ſucceed him by a general Election. The Lands of the ſubdued Territory were divided into greater and ſmaller Shares, beſides that reſerved to the Prince and Government. The great, were given to the chief Officers of the Army, who had beſt deſerved, and were moſt eſteemed; the ſmaller, to the common or private Soldiers. The Natives conquered, were wholly diſpoyled of their Lands, and reckoned but as Slaves by the Conquerors, and ſo uſed for labour and ſervile Offices, and thoſe of the conquering Nation were the Freemen. The great Sharers, as chief Officers, continued to be the Council of the Prince in matters of State, as they had been before in matters of War. But in the great Affair and of common concernment, all that had the ſmaller Shares in Land, were aſſembled and adviſed with. The firſt great Shares were in proceſs of time called Baronies, and the Small, Fees.

I know very well how much Critick has been employed, by the moſt Learned, as *Eraſmus*, *Selden*, *Spelman*, as well as many others, about the two Words *Baro* and *Feudum*, and how much pains have

have been taken, to deduce them from the Latin, Greek, and even the Hebrew and Ægyptian Tongues; but I find no reason, after all they have said, to make any doubt of their having been both Original of the Gothick or Northern Language; or of *Baron* having been a term of Dignity, of Command, or of Honour among them; and *Feudum*, of a Soldiers share of Land. I find the first used above eight hundred years ago, in the Verses mentioned of King *Lodbrog*, when one of his Exploits was, to have conquered eight Barons. And though *Feci* or *Feuda* were in use under later Roman Emperors, yet they were derived from the Gothick Customs, after so great numbers of those Nations were introduced into the Roman Armies, and employed upon the Decline of that Empire, against other more barbarous Invasions. For of all the Northern Nations, the *Goths* were esteemed the most civil, orderly, and vertuous, and are for such commended by St. *Austin* and *Salvian*, who makes their Conquests, to have been given them by the Justice of God, as a reward of their Vertue, and a punishment upon the Roman Provinces for the Viciousness and Corruptions of their

Lives

Lives and Governments. So as it is no wonder if many *Gothick* Words and Customs enter'd early into the *Roman* Empire.

As to the word *Baro*, it is not that I find, at all agreed among the learned, from whence to derive it, and the Objections raised against their several Conjectures, seem better grounded than the Arguments for any of them. But what that Term imported, is out of their several accounts easie to Collect, and confirmed by what still remains in all the Constitutions of the *Gothick* Governments. For though by *Barons* are now meant in *England*, such as are created by Patent, and thereby called to the House of Lords; And Baron in *Spanish* signifie only a Man of Note or Worth; and the Quality denoted by that Title be different in the several Countries of Christendom; yet there is no question, but they were originally such persons as upon the Conquest of a Country, were by the Conquering Prince invested in the possession of certain Tracts or Proportions of Free Lands, or at least such as they held by no other Tenure, but that of Military Service, or Attendance upon the Prince in his Wars, with a certain

tain number of armed Men. Theſe in *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland*, ſeem to have had, and ſome ſtill to retain, a Soveraign Power in their Territories, by the exerciſe of what is called high and low Juſtice, or the power of judging Criminal as well as Civil Cauſes, and inflicting Capital Puniſhments among thoſe that held under them, either as Vaſſals or in Fee. But I have not met with any thing of this kind recorded in *England*, though the great Barons had not only great numbers of Knights, but even petty Barons holding under them.

I think the whole Realm of *England* was by *William* the Conquerour divided into Baronies, however the diſtinctions may have been long ſince worn out: But in *Ireland* they ſtill remain, and every County there is divided into ſo many Baronies, which ſeem to have been the Shares of the firſt Barons. And ſuch as theſe great Proprietors of Land, compoſed in all theſe North-Weſt Regions, one part in the States of the Country or Kingdom.

Now for the word *Barons*, though it be a preſumption to aſſert any thing after the Doubts or unreſolved Diſputes of ſuch learned Men: Yet I ſhall adventure

to give my own Opinion, how different ſoever from any that has been yet advanced. I find in *Guagnini's* deſcription of *Sarmatia*, Printed in the year 1581. That in the ſeveral Dukedoms, Palatinates, or Principalities which then compoſed the mighty Empire of *Muſcovy*: Thoſe perſons who were the Chief in poſſeſſions of Lands, Offices, or Dignities among them next to the Prince, Duke, or Palatine, were by one common appellation called his *Boiarons*, as thoſe of the ſame ſort or quality in the preſent Court of the Great Duke's, are now termed his Boiars, which may be a corrupt or particular Dialect from the other. Now I think it is obvious to any Man, that tries how eaſie a change is made in the Contraction of Boiarons into Barons, which is but of the two firſt Syllables into one, and that with an A long, as Barons is commonly uſed; And thoſe Countries above mentioned, having been the Seats of our Conquering *Goths*, I am apt to think their Boiarons grew with their Conqueſts, to be the Original Barons in all thoſe ſeveral Nations or Dominions where they were extended.

From

From the Diviſions, Forms and Inſtitutions already deduced, will naturally ariſe and plainly appear the Frame and Conſtitution of the Gothick Government, which was peculiar to them, and different from all before, known or obſerved in Story, but ſo univerſal among theſe Northern Nation, that it was under the Names of King, or Prince or Duke and His Eſtates, eſtabliſhed in all parts of *Europe*, from the North-eaſt of *Poland* and *Hungary*, to the South-weſt of *Spain* and *Portugal*, though theſe vaſt Countries had been ſubdued by ſo many ſeveral Expeditions of theſe Northern People, at ſuch divers times, and under ſo different Appellations. And it ſeems to have been invented or inſtituted by the Sages of the *Goths*, as a Government of Freemen, which was the Spirit or Character of the North-weſt Nations, diſtinguiſhing them from thoſe of the South and the Eaſt, and gave the name to the *Francs* among them.

I need ſay nothing of this Conſtitution, which is ſo well known in our Iſland, and was anciently the ſame with ours in *France* and *Spain*, as well as *Germany* and *Sweden*, where it ſtill continues, conſiſting of a King or Prince,

who is Sovereign both in Peace and War, of an Assembly of Barons (as they were originally called) whom he uses as his Council, and another of the Commons, who are the Representative of all that are possessed of Free-Lands, whom the Prince assembles and consults with, upon the occasions or affairs, of the greatest and common concern to the Nation. I am apt to think that the possession of Land, was the Original Right of Election or Representative among the Commons, and that Cities and Boroughs were entituled to it, as they were possess'd of certain Tracts of Land, that belonged or were annexed to them. And so it is still in *Friezland*, the Seat from whence our Gothick or Saxon Ancestors came, into these Islands. For the ancient Seat of the Gothick Kingdom, was of small or no Trade; nor *England* in their time: Their Humours and Lives were turned wholly to Arms, and long after the *Norman* Conquest, all the Trade of *England* was driven by *Jews*, *Lombards*, or *Milaners*, so as the right of Boroughs seems not to have arisen from regards of Trade, but of Land, and were places where so many Freemen inhabited together, and had such a Proportion of Land belonging to them. However it be, this Constitution has been celebrated, as framed with great Wisdom and Equity, and as the truest and justest Temper that has been ever found out between Dominion and Liberty; and it seems

ſeems to be a ſtrain of what *Heraclitus* ſaid, was the only Skill or Knowledge of any value in the Politicks, which was the Secret of Governing All by All.

This ſeems to have been intended by theſe Gothick Conſtitutions, and by the Election and Repreſentation of All that poſſeſſed Lands; for ſince a Country is compoſed of the Land it contains, they eſteemed a Nation to be ſo, of ſuch as were the Poſſeſſors of it. And what Prince ſoever can hit of this great Secret, needs know no more, for his own Safety and Happineſs, or that of the People He governs. For no State or Government can ever be much troubled or endangered by any private Factions, which is grounded upon the general conſent and ſatisfaction of the Subjects, unleſs it be wholly ſubdued by the force of Armies; and then the ſtanding Armies have the place of Subjects, and the Government depends upon the contented or diſcontented Humours of the Soldiers in general, which has more ſudden and fatal conſequences upon the Revolutions of State, than thoſe of Subjects in unarmed Governments. So the Roman, Ægyptian, and Turkiſh Empires, appear to have always turned

upon the Arbitrary Wills, and wild Humours of the Prætorian Bands, the Mamalukes, and the Janizaries. And so I pass from the Scythian Conquests and Gothick Constitutions to those of the *Arabians* or *Mahumetans* in the World.

SECT.

SECT. V.

THE laſt Survey I propoſed, of the Four outlying (or if the Learned ſo pleaſe to call them, Barbarous) Empires, was that of the *Arabians*, which was indeed of a very different nature from all the reſt, being built upon Foundations wholly Enthuſiaſtick, and thereby very unaccountable to common Reaſon, and in many points contrary even to Human Nature; yet few others have made greater Conqueſts or more ſudden Growths, than this *Arabian* or *Saracen* Empire; but having been of later Date, and the courſe of it engaged in perpetual Wars with the Chriſtian Princes, either of the Eaſt or Weſt, of the Greek or the Latin Churches, both the Original and Progreſs of it, have been eaſily obſerved, and are moſt vulgarly known, having been the Subject of many modern Writers, and ſeveral well digeſted Hiſtories or Relations; and therefore I

ſhall give but a very Summary Account of both.

About the year 600, or near it, lived *Mahomet*, a Man of mean Parentage and Condition, illiterate, but of great Spirit and ſubtil Wit, like thoſe of the Climat or Country where he was born or bred, which was that part of *Arabia* called the Happy, eſteemed the loveliеſt and ſweeteſt Region of the World, and like thoſe bleſſed Seats ſo finely painted by the Poet,

Quas neq; concutiunt venti, neq; nubila nimbis
Aſpergunt, neq; nix acri concreta pruinâ
Cana cadens violat, ſemperq; innubilus æther
Contegit, & latè diffuſo lumine ridet.

He was Servant to a rich Merchant of this Country, and after his Maſters Death, having married his Widow, came to be poſſeſſed of great Wealth, and of a numerous Family: Among others, he had entertained in it a Sergian Monk, or at leaſt called by that Name, whoſe vicious and libertine Diſpoſitions of Life, had made him leave his Incloſure and Profeſſion, but otherwiſe a Man of great Learning. *Mahomet* was

ſubject

ſubject to fits of an Epilepſie or Falling-Sickneſs, and either by the Cuſtoms of that Clymat, or the neceſſity of that Diſeaſe, very temperate and abſtaining from Wine, but in the reſt voluptuous and diſſolute. He was aſhamed of his Diſeaſe, and to diſguiſe it from his Wife and Family, pretended his Fits were Trances, into which he was caſt at certain times by God Almighty, and in them inſtructed in his Will, and his true Worſhip and Laws, by which he would be ſerved; and that He was commanded to publiſh them to the World, to teach them and ſee them obey'd.

About this Age all the Chriſtian Provinces of the Eaſt were over-run with *Arianiſm*, which however refined or diſguiſed by its learned Profeſſors and Advocates, either denyed or undermined the Divinity of Chriſt, and allowed only His Prophetical Office. The Countries of *Arabia* and *Egypt*, were filled with great numbers of the ſcattered Jews, who upon the laſt Deſtruction of their Country in *Adrian*'s time, had fled into theſe Provinces to avoid the Ruin and even extinction, which was threatned their Nation by that Emperor, who after all the Deſolations he made

made in *Judea*, transported what he could of their remaining Numbers into *Spain*. The rest of *Arabia* and *Egypt*, was inhabited by Gentiles, who had little Sense left of their decayed and derided Idolatry, and had turned their Thoughts and Lives to Luxury and Pleasure, and to the desires and acquisition of Riches, in order to those ends. *Mahomet*, to humour and comply with these three sorts of Men, and by the assistance of the Monk his only Confident, framed a Scheam of Religion he thought likely to take in, or at least not to shock the common Opinions and dispositions of them all, and yet most agreeable to his own Temper and Designs.

He professed one God Creator of the World, and who govern'd all things in it. That God had in ancient times sent *Moses* His first and great Prophet, to give His Laws to Mankind, but that they were neither received by the Gentiles, nor obeyed by the Jews themselves, to whom he was more peculiarly sent. That this was the occasion of the Misfortunes and Captivities that so often befel them. That in the later Ages he had sent Christ, who was the Second Prophet

Prophet, and greater that *Moſes*, to preach his Laws and Obſervation of them, in greater Purity, but to do it with Gentleneſs, Patience and Humility, which had found no better reception or ſucceſs among Men than *Moſes* had done. That for this Reaſon God had now ſent his laſt and greateſt Prophet, *Mahomet*, to publiſh his Laws and Commands with more Power, to ſubdue thoſe to them by force and Violence, who ſhould not willingly receive them, and for this end to eſtabliſh a Kingdom upon Earth that ſhould propagate this Divine Law and Worſhip, throughout the World: That as God had deſigned utter Ruin and Deſtruction to all that refuſed them, ſo to thoſe that profeſſed and obeyed them, He had given the Spoils and Poſſeſſions of His and their Enemies, as a Reward in this Life, and had provided a Paradiſe hereafter, with all ſenſual enjoyments, eſpecially of beautiful Women new created for that purpoſe; but with more tranſcendent Degrees of Pleaſure and Felicity to thoſe that ſhould die in the purſuit and propagation of them, thro' the reſt of the World, which ſhould in time ſubmit or be ſubdued under them. Theſe, with

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the ſevere Prohibition of drinking Wine, and the Principle of Predeſtination, were the firſt and chief Doctrins and Inſtitutions of *Mahomet*, and which were received with great Applauſe, and much Confluence of *Arians*, *Jews* and *Gentiles* in thoſe parts; ſome contributing to the riſe of his Kingdom by the Belief of his Divine Miſſion and Authority; many, by finding their chief Principles or Religious Opinions, contained or allowed in them; but moſt by their Voluptuouſneſs and Luxury, their Paſſions of Avarice, Ambition and Revenge being thereby complyed with. After his Fits or Trances, he writ the many ſeveral parts or Chapters of his *Alcoran*, as newly inſpired and dictated from Heaven, and left in them, that which to us, and in its Tranſlations, looks like a wild Fanatick Rhapſody of his Viſions or Dreams, or rather of his Fantaſtical Imaginations and Inventions, but has ever paſſed among all his Followers, as a Book Sacred and Divne; which ſhews the ſtrange difference of Conceptions among Men,

To be ſhort, this Contagion was ſo violent, that it ſpread from *Arabia* into *Ægypt* and *Syria*, and his Power increaſed

creaſed with ſuch a ſudden growth as well as his Doctrin, that he lived to ſee them overſpread both thoſe Countries, and a great part of *Perſia*; the Decline of the Old Roman Empire, making eaſie way for the powerful aſcent of this new Comet, that appeared with ſuch wonder and terror in the World, and with a flaming Sword made way where-ever it came, or laid all deſolate that oppoſed it.

Mahomet left two Branches of his Race or Succeſſion, which was in both eſteemed Divine among his *Muſſulmans* or Followers; the one was continued in the *Caliphs* of *Perſia*, and th'other of *Egypt* and *Arabia*. Both theſe, under the common Appellation of *Saracens*, made mighty and wonderful Progreſs, the one to the Eaſt, and th'other to the Weſt.

The Roman Empire, or rather the remainders of it, ſeated at *Conſtantinople*, and afterwards called the Greek, was for ſome times paſt moſt cruelly infeſted, and in many parts ſhaken to pieces, by the Invaſions or Incurſions of many barbarous Northern Nations, and thereby diſabled from any vigorous oppoſition

position to this new and formidable Enemy. Besides, the Divisions among Christians made way for their Conquests, and the great increase of Proselytes to this new Religion. The *Arians* persecuted in the Eastern Provinces by some of the Greek Emperors (of the same Faith with the Western or Roman Church) made easie turns to the *Mahumetan* Doctrine, that professed Christ to have been so great and so Divine a Prophet, which was all in a manner that they themselves allowed Him. The cruel Persecutions of other Grecian Princes against those Christians, that would not admit the use of Images, made great Numbers of them go over to the *Saracens*, who abhorred that Worship as much as themselves. The Jews were allured by the profession of Unity in the Godhead, which they pretended not to find in the Christian Faith, and by the great Honor that was paid by the *Saracens* to *Moses*, as a Prophet and a Lawgiver sent immediately from God into the World. The Pagans met with an Opinion of the old Gentilism, in that of Predestination, which was the Stoick Principle, and that whereinto unhappy Men commonly fell, and sought for

for refuge in the uncertain conditions or events of Life, under Tyrannical and Cruel Governments. So as some Roman Authors observe, that the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula* and *Nero* made more Stoicks in *Rome*, than the Precepts of *Zeno*, *Chrysippus*, and *Cleanthes*.

The great extent and power of the *Persian* Branch or Empire, continued long among the *Saracens*, but was over-run at length by the *Turks* first, and then by the *Tartars* under *Tamerlane*, whose Race continued there till the time of *Ishmael*; from whom the present Sophies are derived. This *Ishmael* was an Enthusiast, or at least a Pretender to new Revelations in the *Mahumetan* Religion. He professed to reform both their Doctrins and their Manners, and taught, That *Haly* alone of *Mahomet's* Followers, ought to be owned and believed, as His true Successor, which made the *Persians* ever since esteem the *Turks* for Hereticks, as the *Turks* do them. He gained so many followers by his new and refined Principles, or professions of Devotion, that he made himself King of *Persia*, by the same way that the *Xeriffs* came to be Kings of *Morocco* and *Fez*, about *Charles* the Fifth's time, and

Cromwel

Cromwel to be Protector of *England*, and *Oran Zeb* to be great Mogul in our Age, which were the four great Dominions of the Fanatick Strain.

The *Arabian* Branch of the *Saracen* Empire, after a long and mighty growth in *Ægypt* and *Arabia*, seems to have been at its height under the great *Almanzor*, who was the illustrious and renowned Heroe of this Race, and must be allowed to have as much excelled, and as eminently, in Learning, Vertue, Piety, and Native Goodness, as in Power, in Valour, and in Empire: Yet this was extended from *Arabia* through *Ægypt* and all the Northern Tracts of *Africa*, as far as the Western Ocean, and over all the considerable Provinces of *Spain*. For it was in his time, and by his Victorious Ensigns, that the Gothick Kingdom in *Spain* was conquered, and the Race of those famous Princes ended in *Rodrigo*. All that Country was reduced under the *Saracen* Empire, (except the Mountains of *Leon* and *Oviedo*) and were afterwards divided into several Moorish Kingdoms, whereof some lasted to the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. Nay, the *Saracen* Forces, after the Conquest of *Spain*, invaded the

the Southern parts of *France*, and proceeded with the ſame ſucceſs as far as *Tours*, till they were beaten and expelled by *Charles Martel*, who by thoſe exploits raiſed his Renown ſo high, as to give him the Ambition, of leaving the Kingdom of *France* to his own Line, in *Pepin* and *Charlemain*, by the depoſition and extinction of the firſt Race, which had laſted from *Pharamond*.

I do not remember ever to have read a greater and a nobler Character of any Prince, than of this Great *Almanzor*, in ſome Spaniſh Authors or Tranſlators of his ſtory out of the *Arabian* Tongue, wherein the Learning then remaining in the World flouriſh'd moſt; and that of ancient *Greece*, as it had been tranſlated into their Language, ſo it ſeems to have been by the Acuteneſs and excellency of thoſe more Southern Wits, in ſome parts very much improved.

This Kingdom continued Great under the Caliphs of *Ægypt*, who degenerating from the Example and Vertues of *Almanzor*, came to be hated of their Subjects, and to ſecure themſelves from them, by a mighty Guard of *Circaſſian* Slaves. Theſe were bought young

from the Country now called *Mengrelia*, between the Euxin and Caſpian Seas, the ancient Seat of the *Amazons*, and which has, in paſt and preſent times, been obſerved to produce the braveſt Bodies of Men, and moſt beautiful of Women, in all the Eaſtern Regions. Theſe Slaves were called Mamalues when they came into *Egypt*, and were brought up with care, and in all Exerciſes and Diſcipline, that might render them the moſt martial Troop or Bands of Soldiers that could any where be compoſed, and ſo they proved. The Commander of this mighty Band or Guard of Mamalucks, was called their Sultan, who was abſolute over them, as the General of an Army is in time of War. They ſerved for ſome time to ſupport the Government of the Caliphs, and enſlave the *Egyptians*, till one of the Sultans finding his own Power, and the general diſeſteem wherein the Caliph was fallen, by the effeminate Softneſs or Luxury of his Life, depoſed him firſt, then ſlew him, and took upon Himſelf the Government of *Egypt*, under the name of Sultan, and reigned by the ſole Force and Support of his Mamaluc Troops, which were continually increaſ-

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ſed by the Merchandiſe and Tranſportation of *Circaſſian* Slaves. This Government laſted, with great Terror in *Ægypt*, between two and three hundred Years, during which time the new Sultans were elected, upon the Death or Depoſing of the Old, by the choice of the Mamaluc, and always out of their own Bands. The Sons of the Deceaſed Sultans enjoyed the Eſtates and Riches left by their Fathers, but by the Conſtitutions of the Government no Son of a Sultan was ever either to ſucceed, or even to be elected Sultan: So that in this, contrary to all others ever known in the World, to be born of a Prince, was a certain and unalterable Excluſion from the Kingdom; and none was ever to be choſen Sultan, that had not been actually ſold for a Slave, brought from *Circaſſia*, and trained up a private Soldier in the Mamaluc Bands. Yet of ſo baſe Metal were formed ſeveral Men, who made mighty Figures in their Age, and no Nation made ſo brave a reſiſtance againſt the growing Empire of the Turks, as theſe Mamalucs did under their Sultans, till they were conquered by *Selim*, after a long War, which looked in Story like the Combat

of ſome fierce Tyger with a Savage Boar, while the Country that is waſted by them are Lookers on, and little concerned, under whoſe Dominion and Cruelty they fall.

It is not well agreed amongſt Authors, whether the Turks were firſt called into *Aſia* by the Greek or the Perſian Emperors; but 'tis by all, that falling down in great Numbers, they revolted from the Aſſiſtance of their Friends, ſet up for themſelves, embraced the Mahometan Religion, and improved the Principles of that Sect; by new Orders and Inventions, (caſt wholly for Conqueſt and extent of Empire) they framed a Kingdom, which under the *Ottoman* Race ſubdued both the Greek Empire, and that of the *Arabians*, and rooted it ſelf in all thoſe vaſt Dominions as it continues to this day, with the Addition of many other Provinces to their Kingdom, but yet many more to the Mahumetan Belief. So this Empire of the Turks, like a freſh Graft upon one Branch of a vigorous Stock, covered wholly that upon which it was grafted, and out-grew in time the other which was natural, as the Perſian Branch.

The chief Principles upon which this fierce

fierce Government was founded and raiſed to ſuch a height, were firſt thoſe of *Mahomet*, already deduced, which by their ſenſual Paradice and Predeſtination, were great incentives of Courage and of Enterprize, joyned to the Spoils of the Conquered, both in their Lands, their Goods and their Liberties, which were all ſeized at the pleaſure of the Conqueror.

A ſecond was, a Belief infuſed of Divine Deſignation of the Ottoman Line to reign among them for extent of their Territories, and propagation of their Faith. This made him eſteemed, at leaſt by Adoption, as a Succeſſor of *Mahomet*, and both a Sovereign Lawgiver in Civil (and with the aſſiſtance of his Mufti) a Supreame Judge in all Religious Matters. And this Principle was ſo far improved among theſe People, that they held Obedience to be given in all things to the Will of their Ottoman Prince as to the Will of God, by whom they thought him deſigned; and that they were bound not only to obey his Commands with any hazard of their Lives againſt Enemies, but even by laying down their own, when ever he commanded, and with the ſame reſig-

nation that is by others thought due to the Decrees of Deſtiny, or the Will and Pleaſure of Almighty God. This gives ſuch an abandoned Submiſſion to all the frequent and cruel Executions among them by the Emperors Command, tho' upon the meer turns of his own Humour, the Suggeſtions of the Miniſters, or the Flatteries and Revenges of thoſe Women he moſt truſteth, or loveth beſt.

A third was, the Diviſion of all Lands in conquered Countries, into Timariots, or Soldiers Shares, beſides what was reſerved and appropriated to the Emperor; and theſe Shares being only at pleaſure or for Life, leave him the ſole Lord of all Lands in his Dominion, which by the common ſuppoſition of Power following Land, muſt by conſequence leave him the moſt abſolute of any Soveraign in the World.

A fourth, the allowance of no Honors nor Charges, no more than Lands to be hereditary, but all to depend upon the Will of the Princes. This applies every man's Ambition and Avarice to court his preſent Humour, ſerve his preſent Deſigns, and obey his Commands, of how different Nature ſoever they

they are, and how frequently changed.

A fifth was, the Suppreſſion and in a manner extinction, of all Learning among the Subjects of their whole Empire, at leaſt the natural Turks and Janizaries, in whom the ſtrength of it conſiſts. This Ignorance makes way for the moſt blind Obedience, which is often ſhaken by Diſputes concerning Religion and Government, Liberty and Dominion, and other Arguments, of that or ſome ſuch nature.

A ſixth was, the Inſtitution of that famous Order of the Janizaries, than which a greater ſtrain of true and deep Politick, will hardly be obſerved in any Conſtitution. This conſiſted in the arbitrary choice of ſuch Chriſtian Children, throughout their Dominions, as were eſteemed Moſt fit for the Emperors peculiar Service; and the choice was made, by the ſhews or promiſes of the greateſt growth or ſtrength of Body, vigor of Conſtitution, and boldneſs of Courage. Theſe were taken into the Emperors Care, and trained up in certain Colledges or Chambers, as they are called, and by Officers for that purpoſe, who endeavoured to improve all they could the advantages of Nature, by thoſe of

Education and of Diſcipline. They were all diligently inſtructed in the Mahometan Religion, and in the Veneration of the Ottoman Race. Such of them as proved weak of Body, ſlothful, or Puſilanimous, were turned to labour in Gardens, Buildings, or Drudgeries of the Palace; but all that were fit for Military Service, were at a certain Age entred into the Body of *Janizaries*, who were the Emperors Guards.

By this means the number of Chriſtians was continually leſſened throughout the Empire, and weakned by the loſs of ſuch, as were like to prove the braveſt and ſtrongeſt of their Races. That of *Muſſulmans* was encreaſed in the ſame Proportions, and a mighty Body of Choſen Men kept up perpetually in Diſcipline and Pay, who eſteemed themſelves not only as Subjects or Slaves, but even Pupils and Domeſtick Servants of the Grand Seigniors Perſon and Family.

A ſeventh was, The great Temperance introduced into the general Cuſtoms of the Turks, but more particularly of the *Janizaries*, by the ſevere Defence and abſtinence of Wine; and by the Proviſion of one only ſort of Food

Food for their Armies; which was Rice. Of this Grain, as every Man is able to carry upon occasion, enough for several days, so the quantity provided for every expedition is but according to the number, with no distinction for the quality of Men; so that upon a march, or in a Camp, a Colonel has no more allowed him than a private Soldier. Nor are any, but General Officers, encumbred with Train or Baggage, which gives them mighty advantages in their German Wars, among whom every Officer has a Family in proportion to his Command during the Campania, as well as in his Quarters; and the very Soldiers used to carry their Wives with them into the Field; whereas a Turkish Army consists only of fighting Men.

The last I shall mention, is the speediness as well as severity of their Justice both Civil and Military, which tho often, subject thereby to Mistakes, and deplored by the Complaints and Calamities of innocent persons, yet it is maintained upon this Principle fixt among them, *That 'tis better two innocent Men should die, than one guilty live.* And this indeed agrees with the whole Cast or Frame of their Empire, which

which seems to have been in all points the fiercest, as that of the *Tuta's* was the gentlest, that of *China* the wisest, and that of the *Goths* the bravest in the World.

The growth and progress of this Turkish Empire, under the Ottoman Race, was so sudden and so violent, the two or three first Centuries, that it raised fear and wonder throughout the World, but seems at a stand for these last hundred years, having made no Conquest, since that of *Hungary*, except the remainder of *Candia*, after a very long War so bravely maintained by the small Venetian State, against so mighty Powers. The reason of this may be drawn, not only from the Periods of Empire, that like natural Bodies, grow for a certain time, and to a certain size, which they are not to exceed, but from some other causes, both within and without, which seem obvious enough.

The first, a neglect in the observance of some of these Orders, which were essential to the Constitutions of their Government. For after the Conquest of *Cyprus*, and the example of *Selim's* intemperance, in those and other Wines,

that

that Custom and Humour prevailed against their Laws of Abstinence, in that point so severely enjoyned by *Mahomet*, and so long observed among all his Followers. And tho the Turks and Janizaries endeavoured to avoid the Scandal and Punishment by drinking in private, yet they felt the effects in their Bodies, and in their Humours, whereof the last needs no inflaming among such hot Tempers, and their Bodies are weakned by this Intemperance, joyned to their abandoned Luxury in point of Women.

Besides, the Institution of Janizaries has been much altered, by the Corruption of Officers, who have long suffered the Christians to buy off that Tribute of their Children, and the Turks to purchase the preferment of theirs into that Order for Mony; by which means the choice of this Militia is not made from the strongest and most warlike Bodies of Men, but from the Purses of the Parents or Friends.

These two Distempers have produced another, much greater and more fatal than both, which is the mutinous Humour of this Body of Janizaries, who finding their own Strength, began to make what Changes they pleased in the

the State, till having been long flush'd with the Blood of the Basha's and Visiers, they made bold at last with that of their Princes themselves, and having deposed and strangled *Ibrahim*, they set up his Son, the present Emperor, then a Child. But the Distempers ended not there, they fell into new Factions, changed and murthered several Visiers, and divided into so powerful Parties, and with so fierce Contentions, that the Bassa of *Aleppo*, with an Army of an Hundred Thousand Men, set up for himself (tho under pretence of a counterfeit Son of *Morat*) and caused such a Convulsion of this mighty State, that the Ottoman Race had ended, if this bold Adventurer had not upon confidence in the Faith of a Treaty, been surprized and strangled by order of old *Caperly*, then newly come to be Grand Visier, and absolute in the Government. This Man entring the Ministry, at fourscore years old, cruel by nature, and hardned by Age, to allay the heat of Blood in that distemper'd Body of the Janizaries, and the other Troops, cut off near Forty Thousand of them in three years time, by private, suddain, and violent Executions, without form of Laws or Trials,

Trials, or hearing any ſorts of Pleas or Defences. His Son, ſucceeding in the place of Grand Viſier, found the Empire ſo diſpirited, by his Fathers Crueltie, and the Militia remaining ſo ſpited and diſtemper'd, breathing new Commotions and Revenges, that he diverted the Humour by an eaſie Warfare on the *Venetians*, *Tranſilvanians*, or the remainders of *Hungary*, till by Temper and Conduct he had cloſed the Wounds which his Father had left bleeding, and reſtored the Strength of the Ottoman Empire to that Degree, that the ſucceeding Viſier invaded *Germany*, though againſt the Faith of Treaties, or of a Truce not expired, and at laſt beſieged *Vienna*, which is a Story too freſh and too known to be told here.

Another reaſon has been, the neglect of their Marine Affairs, or of their former Greatneſs at Sea; ſo as for many years they hardly pretend to any ſucceſſes on that Element; but commonly ſay, *That God has given the Earth to the* Muſſulmans, *and the Sea to the* Chriſtians.

The laſt I ſhall obſerve, is the exceſſive uſe of Opium, with which they ſeek to repair the want of Wine, and to

divert

divert their Melancholy reflections, upon the ill Condition of their Fortunes and Lives, ever uncertain, and depending upon the Will or Caprice of the Grand Seignior, or of the Grand Viſiers Humor and Commands; but the effect of this Opium is very tranſitory; and tho' it allays for the preſent all Melancholy Fumes and Thoughts, yet when the Operation is paſt, they return again, which makes the uſe of it ſo often repeated; and nothing more diſpirits and enervates both the Body and the Mind of thoſe that frequently uſe it.

The external Reaſon of the Stand made this laſt Century, in the growth of the Turkiſh Empire, ſeems to have been, their having before extended it, till they came to ſuch ſtrong Bars as were not to be broken. For they were grown to border upon the Perſian Empire to the Eaſt, upon the *Tartars* to the North, upon the *Æthiopians* to the South, and upon the German Empire to the Weſt, and turned their proſpect this way, as the eaſieſt and moſt plauſible, being againſt a Chriſtian ſtate.

Now this Empire of *Germany*, conſiſting of ſuch large Territories, ſuch Numbers and Bodies of Warlike Men, when

when united in any common Cause or Quarrel, seems as strongly constituted for Defence, as the Turkish is for Invasion or Conquest. For being composed of many Civil and Moderate Governments, under Legal Princes or Free States, the Subjects are all fond of their Liberties and Laws, and abhor the falling under any foreign or Arbitrary Dominions; and in such a common Cause seem to be invincible. On the contrary, the Turkish Territories being all enslaved, and thereby in a manner desolated, have no Force but that of their standing Armies, and their People in general care not either for the progress of their Victories abroad, nor even for the Defence of their own Countries, since they are sure to lose nothing, but may hope reasonably to gain by any change of Master, or of Government, which makes that Empire the worse constituted that can be for Defence, upon any great Misfortune to their Armies.

The Effect of these two different Constitutions had been seen and felt (in all probability) to the wonder of the whole World, in these late Revolutions, if the Divine Decrees had not

crossed

crossed all Human Appearances. For the Grand Visier might certainly have taken *Vienna*, before the Confederate Princes could have united for its Relief, if the Opinion of vast Treasures (there assembled for shelter from all the adjacent parts) had not given him a passionate desire to take the Town by Composition rather than by Storm; which must have left all its Wealth a Prey to the Soldiers, and not to the General.

If the Turks had possessed this Bulwark of Christendom, I do not conceive what could have hindred them from being Masters immediately of *Austria*, and all its depending Provinces; nor in another year of all *Italy*, or of the Southern Provinces of *Germany*, as they should have chosen to carry on their Invasion, or of both, in two or three years time; and how fatal this might have been to the rest of Christendom, or how it might have enlarged the Turkish Dominions, is easie to conjecture.

On th' other side, after the Defeat of the Grand Visiers Army, his Death, and that of so many brave Bashas, and other Captains, by the usual

usual Humour and Faction of that bloody Court: After such Slaughters of the Janizaries, in so many Encounters, and such an universal Discouragement of their Troops, that could no where withstand the German Arms and Bravery; if upon the taking of *Belgrade*, the Emperor had been at the Head of the Forces then in his Service, united under one great Commander, and without dependance upon the several Princes by whom they were raised, I do not see what could have hindred them from conquering all before them, in that open Country of *Bulgaria* and *Romania*, nor from taking *Constantinople* it self, upon the course of an easie War, in such a Decline of the Turkish Empire, with so weak and dispirited Troops as those that remained, a Treasure so exhausted, a Court so divided, and such a general Consternation as appear'd in that great and tumultuous City, upon these occasions.

But God Almighty had not decreed any so great Revolution, either for the Ruin or Advantage of Christendom, and seems to have left both Empires at a Bay, and not likely to make any great Enterprises on either side; but rather

to fall into the Deſigns of a Peace, which may probably leave *Hungary* to the Poſſeſſion as well as Right of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Turks in a condition of giving no great Fears or Dangers, in our Age, to the reſt of Chriſtendom.

Although the Mahumetan Empires were not raiſed like others, upon the Foundations, or by the force of Heroic Vertue, but rather by the Practices of a ſubtile Man, upon the ſimplicity of credulous People; yet the growth of them has been influenced by ſeveral Princes, in whom ſome Beams at leaſt of that Sun have ſhined, ſuch as *Almanzor*, *Saladine*, *Ottoman*, and *Soliman the Great*. And becauſe I have named the moſt Heroick Perſons of that Sect, it will be but Juſtice to Nobler Nations, to mention at the ſame time, thoſe who appear to have ſhined the brighteſt in their ſeveral Ages or Countries, and the Luſtre of whoſe Vertues, as well as Greatneſs, has been ſullied with the feweſt noted Blemiſhes or Defaults, and who for deſerving well of their own Countries by their Actions, and of Mankind by their Examples, have eternized their Memories in the true

true Records of Fame, which is ever juſt to the Dead, how partial ſoever it may be to the living, from the forced Applauſes of Power, or fulſom Adulations of ſervile Men.

Such as theſe were among the ancient Grecians, *Epaminondas*, *Pericles*, and *Ageſilaus*. Of the Old Roman State, the firſt *Scipio*, *Marcellus*, and *Paulus Æmilius*. Of the Roman Emperors, *Auguſtus*, *Trajan*, and *Marcus Antoninus*. Among the Goths, *Alaric* and *Theoderic*. Of the Weſtern Emperors, *Charlemain*, *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, and *Charles the Fifth*. Of the French Nation, *Pharamond*, *Charles Martel*, and *Henry* the Fourth, who began three of their Nobleſt Races. Of the *Swedes*, *Guſtavus Adolphus*. And of our own, *Richard* the Firſt; the *Black Prince*, and *Harry* the Fifth. To theſe I may add ſeven Famous Captains, or ſmaller Princes, whoſe Exploits and Vertues may juſtly allow them to be ranked with ſo great Kings and Emperors. *Ætius* and *Belliſarius*, the two laſt Great Commanders of the Roman Armies, after the Diviſion and Decay of that Mighty State, who ſet up the laſt Trophies, and made the braveſt Defences againſt

the Numbers and Fury of those Barbarous Nations, that invaded, and after their time tore in pieces that whole Empire. *George Castriot*, commonly call'd *Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Epire*, and *Huniades* Viceroy of *Hungaria*, who were two most victorious Captains, and excellent Men, the true Champions of Christendom whilst they lived, and Terror of the Turks; who with small Forces held at a Bay, for so many years, all the Powers of the Ottoman Empire. *Ferdinand Gonzalvo*, that Noble Spaniard; worthily Surnamed the Great Captain, who by his sole Prowess and Conduct, conquered a Crown for his Master, which he might have worn for himself, if his Ambition had been equal to his Courage and Vertues. *William* Prince of *Orange*, who restored the Belgick Liberties, and was the Founder of their State, esteemed generally the best and wisest Commander of his Age, and who at the sudden point of his Death, as well as in the course of his Life, gave such Testimonies of his being a true Lover of the People and Country he Govern'd. *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, who by his Wisdom, Courage and Justice, recovered

Ten

Ten of the Seventeen Provinces, that were in a manner loſt to the Crown of *Spain*; made two famous Expeditions for relief of his Confederates into the Heart of *France*, and ſeemed to revive the ancient Roman Vertue and Diſcipline in the World, and to bring the noble Genius of *Italy* to appear once more upon the Stage.

Who-ever has a mind to trace the Paths of Heroick Vertue, which lead to the Temple of True Honour and Fame, need ſeek them no further, than in the Stories and Examples of thoſe Illuſtrious Perſons here aſſembled. And ſo I leave this Crown of never-fading Lawrel, in full view of ſuch great and noble Spirits, as ſhall deſerve it, in this or in ſucceeding Ages. Let them win it and wear it.

SECT. VI.

UPON the Survey of all the Great Actions and Revolutions, occasioned in the World by the Conquests and Progresses of these four mighty Empires, as well as the other four, so much renowned in Story: It may not be impertinent, to reflect upon the causes of Conquest as well as the effects, and deduce them from their natural Sources, as far as they can be discovered, though like those of great Rivers, they are usually obscure or taken little notice of, untill their Streams increasing by the influence of many others, make so mighty Inundations, as to grow famous in the Stories, as well as Maps of the World.

To this end I shall observe three things upon the general course of Conquests, the most renowned and best recorded, in what remains of antient as well as modern Histories.

First

First, that they have generally proceeded from North to South, ſo as we find none beſides thoſe of the *Saracens* that can be ſaid to have ſailed the contrary Courſe, and thoſe were animated by another Spirit, which was the *Mahumetan* Perſwaſion of Predeſtination, that made them careleſs of their Lives, and thereby fearleſs of Dangers. For all the reſt, they have run the Courſe before-mentioned, unleſs we ſhould admit the Traditions, rather than Relations of the Conqueſts of *Seſoſtris*, who is reported by the Antients to have ſubdued all, from *Ægypt* to the River *Tanais*: But this we may not allow for truth, becauſe it muſt have preceeded the Reign of *Ninus*, and ſo diſagree with the Chronology of Holy Scripture: And therefore it muſt be exploded for fabulous, with other Reliques of antient Story, as the *Scythians* having ſubdued and poſſeſſed *Aſia* ſo many hundred years before the Empire of *Ninus*, and their Wives having given ſo antient a beginning to the famous Kingdom of the *Amazons*, whereof ſome Remnants only, are ſaid to have remained in *Alexander*'s time: Yet the fame was then believ'd, of their having antiently extended their Dominion over

all the lesser *Asia*, as well as *Armenia*, and of their having founded the famous Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, which is the more probable, from that appellation of *Taurica*, that was antiently given her.

But the great Conquests, recorded and undisputed in Story, have been of the *Assyrians* Southwards, as far as *Arabia* and *India*. Of the *Persians*, from the *Caspian* Sea, to the utmost extent of the preceeding Empire and of *Aegypt*. Of the *Macedonians* over *Greece* and all the Bounds of the *Persian* Kingdom. Of the *Romans* over the Greek Empire as far as *Parthia* Eastward, and over *Sicily Spain* and *Africk* to the South, before the progress of their Arms towards the Northwest. Of the *Tartars* over all *China* and *India*. And of the *Goths* and other Northern Nations over all the more Southern Provinces of *Europe*.

The second observation I shall make upon the subject of Victory and Conquest is, that they have generally been made by the smaller numbers over the greater, against which I do not remember any exception in all the famous Battels registred in Story, excepting that of *Tamerlain* and *Bajazet*, whereof the first

is

is said to have exceeded about a fourth part in number, though they were so vast on both sides, that they were not very easy to be well accounted. For the rest, the number of the *Persians* with *Cyrus* were small to those of the *Assyrians*: Those of the *Macedonians* were in no battel against the *Persians*, above forty thousand men, though sometimes against three, four, or six hundred thousand. The *Athenian* Army little exceeded ten thousand, and fighting for the Liberties of their Country, beat above six-score thousand *Persians* at *Marathon*. The *Lacedemonians*, in all the famous Exploits of that State, never had above twelve thousand *Spartans* in the Field at a time, and seldom above twenty thousand Men with their Allies. * The *Romans* ever fought with smaller against greater numbers, unless in the Battels of *Canne* and *Thrasimene*, which were the only famous ones they lost against foreign Enemies; and *Cæsar*'s Armies at *Pharsalia*, as well as in *Gaul* and *Germany*, were in no proportion to those he conquer'd. That of *Marius* was not above forty thousand against

* And yet they are recorded never to have asked how many their Enemies were, but only where they were.

against three hundred thousand *Cimbri*. The famous Victories of *Alexander* and *Belisarius* against the barbarous Northern Nations, were with mighty disproportion of numbers, as likewise the first Victories of the *Turks* upon the *Persian* Kingdom; of the *Tartars* upon the *Chinese*. And *Scanderbeg*, never saw together, above fifteen thousand men, in all the renowned Victories he atchieved against the *Turks*, though in numbers sometimes above an hundred thousand.

To descend to later times, the English Victories so renowned at *Cressy*, *Poitiers* and *Agencourt*, were gained with disadvantages of numbers out of all proportion. The great Atchievements of *Charles* the eighth in *Italy*, of *Henry* the fourth in *France*, and of *Gustavus Adolphus* in *Germany*, were ever perform'd with smaller against greater numbers. In this Age, and among all the Exploits that have so justly raised the Reputation and Honor of *Monsieur Turenne* for the greatest Captain of his time, I do not remember, any of them were atchieved, without disadvantage of number. And the late Defeat of the *Turks* at the siege of *Vienna*, which saved Christendom, and has eternized the name of the Duke of *Lorain*, was

too fresh and great an Example of this Assertion, to need any more, or leave it in dispute.

From these two Principles of Conquest having proceeded from the North to the South, and by smaller over greater numbers, we may conclude, that they may be attributed to the Constitutions of Mens Bodies who compose the Armies that atchieve them, or to the dispositions of their Minds. The first of these may be either native or habituate, and the latter may be either natural or infused. 'Tis without question, the Northern Bodies are greater and stronger than the Southern, and also more healthy and more vigorous. The reason whereof, is obvious to every mans Conjecture, both from the common Effects of Air upon Appetites and Digestion, and from the roughness of the Soyl, which forces them upon Labour and Hardship. Now the true Original greatness of any Kingdom or Nation, may be accounted by the number of strong and able Bodies of their Native Subjects. This is the Natural Strength of Governments, all the rest is Art, Discipline, or Institution.

The

The next Ingredient into the Compoſition of Conquering Forces, is Fearleſsneſs of Mind, whether it be occaſion'd by the Temper of the Climate, or Race, of which Men are born, or by Cuſtom, which inures Men to be inſenſible of Danger; Or by Paſſions or Opinions that are raiſed in them; For they may all have the ſame Effect. We ſee the very Beaſts and Birds of ſome Countries, as well as the Men, are naturally fearleſs. We ſee long Service in Armies or at Sea, makes Men inſenſible of Dangers. We ſee the love of Liberty, deſire of Revenge, and defence of their Country or Prince, renders them careleſs of Life. The very confidence of Victory, either from former and frequent Succeſſes, from the eſteem and opinion of their Commanders, or from the ſcorn of their Enemies, makes Armies Victorious. But chiefly, the firm and rooted Opinions of Reward or Puniſhment attending another World, and of obtaining the one or avoiding the other, by dying or conquering in the quarrel they are engaged in. And theſe are the great Sources of Victory and Fortune in Arms: For let the numbers be what they will, That Army is ever beaten, where

where the Fright first enters. Few Battels were lost of old, but none since the use of Gunpowder, by the greatness of down-right Slaughter, before an Army runs; and the noise and smoak of Guns, both encreases Fear, and covers Shame, more than the antient use of Arms, so that since those of Fire came in, Battels have been usually shorter and less bloody than before.

If it be true (which I think will not be denyed either by Soldiers or reasonable Men) that the Battel is lost where the Fright first enters, then the reason will appear, why Victory has generally followed the smaller numbers, because in a Body composed of more parts, it may sooner enter upon one, than in that which consists of fewer, as 'tis likelyer to find ten wise Men together than an hundred, and an hundred fearless Men than a thousand: And those who have the smaller Forces, endeavour most to supply that Defect by the choice Discipline, and Bravery of their Troops: And where the Fright once enters an Army, the greater the number, the greater the disorder, and thereby the loss of the Battel more certain and sudden.

From

From all this I conclude that the compoſition of Victorious Armies, and the great true ground of Conqueſt, conſiſts firſt in the choice of the ſtrongeſt, ableſt, and hardieſt Bodies of Men: Next, in the exactneſs of Diſcipline, by which they are inured to Labour and Dangers, and to fear their Commanders more than their Enemies: And laſtly, in the Spirit given them by love of their Country or their Prince, by impreſſions of Honour or Religion, to render them fearleſs of Death, and ſo incapable, or at leaſt very difficult, to receive any fright, or break thereby into diſorder; And I queſtion not, but any brave Prince or General at the Head of forty thouſand men, who would certainly ſtand their ground, and ſooner dye than leave it, might fight any number of Forces that can be drawn together in any Field: For beſides that a greater number, may fall ſooner into fright and diſorder, perhaps a greater can hardly be drawn into the Action of one days Battel, whereas very few in late Ages have laſted half that time.

The laſt Remarque I ſhall make upon this Subject is, that the Conquering Nations, have generally been thoſe, who

who placed the ſtrength of their Arms in their Foot, and not in their Horſe, which have never, till theſe later years, been eſteemed capable of breaking a firm Body of Foot; nor does their Force ſeem to conſiſt in other advantage, beſides that of giving Terror upon the Fury of their firſt Charge: Nor is this Opinion leſs grounded upon Reaſon than Experience. For beſides, that Men are firmer upon their own Feet than thoſe of their Horſes, and leſs in danger of falling into diſorder, which may come from want of Diſcipline or Courage in the Horſes as well as their Riders: It is hard to imagine, that Spurs in the ſides of Horſes ſhould have more effect or force, to make them advance upon a Charge, than Pikes, Swords, or Javelins in their Noſes and Breaſts to make them keep off, fall back or break their Ranks, and run into diſorder.

For the Experience, nothing has been more known in all Ages or more undiſputed. The Battel of *Marathon* was gained by ten thouſand Foot, againſt mighty numbers of *Perſian* Horſe as well as Foot. The famous retreat of *Xenophon*, for ſuch a length of Country and of time, was made at the head of ten thouſand

thousand *Greeks* in the face of forty thousand *Persian* Horse; not had the Greeks above a hundred or fixscore Horse in their Camp, which they made use of only to forrage or pursue the *Persian* Horse when they fled in disorder from the points of their Pikes and Javelins. The *Macedonian* Foot, and afterwards the *Macedonian Phalanx*, were impenetrable by all the *Persian* Horse that ever encountred them. The *Roman* Legions consisted each of six thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, which was all the proportion they ever had in their Victorious Armies, that could not be broken by the vast numbers of *Spanish*, *Numidian*, or *Persian* and *Armenian* Horse, they were so often engaged with. The force of the *Gothick* Nations consisted in their Foot, and of the *Turkish* or *Ottoman* Empire in their Janizaries. The Noble Conquests of the *English* in *France*, were made all by their Foot; and during that period of time, when the Crown of *Spain* made so great a Figure in *Europe*, it was all by the Force and Bravery of their *Spanish* and *Italian* Foot.

There seem to be but two Exceptions against this Rule, which are the antient greatness

greatnes of the *Persians*, and modern of the *French*, whose chief Force have been esteemed to consist in their Horse. But the *Persian* Empire was raised by the Conquest of the Eastern Nations, whose Armies consisted chiefly in Horse, and one against t'other, the best carried it, till they came to deal with the *Grecian* Foot, after which they were ever beaten. For the *French* Armies though the bravery of their Cavilry has been great and noble, as made up of so numerous a Gentry in that Kingdom, yet one chief strength of their Troops must be allowed for the several late Reigns, to have lain in their Bands of *Switzers*; and in this present Reign, *Mareschal Turenne* must be acknowledged, to have made way for his Master's Greatnes, by improving the Bodies of French Foot with force of Choice and Discipline, beyond what they had ever been thought capable of before his time.

I shall end this Remarque with an Adventure I remember to have read in the Stories of the Dukes of *Milan*; One of them having routed a great Army of his Enemies, was enraged to find a Body of *Switzers* make still a firm stand against all his Victorious Troops; He endea-

voured to break them by a desperate Charge, of some Squadrons of his *Gens d' Armes*, who were all armed, as well as the Heads and Breasts of their Horses, and so proof, as he thought, against the *Switzer* Pikes. But all this Effort proved in vain, till at length the Duke commanded three or four hundred of them to alight from their Horses, and armed as they were, to fall in upon the *Switzers* with their Swords; They did it so desperately, some catching hold of the Heads of their Pikes, others cutting them in pieces with their broad Swords, that they at last made way for themselves and other Troops that followed them, and broke this Body of brave *Switzers*, which had been impenetrable by any Horse that could Charge them: And this seems an evident Testimony, that the Impressions of Horse upon Foot, are made by Terror rather than Force, and where that first enters, the Action is soon decided.

After all that has been said of Conquerors or Conquests, this must be confessed to hold but the second Rank in the pretensions to Heroick Virtue, and that the first has been allowed, to the wise Institution of just Orders and Laws, which

which frame ſafe and happy Governments in the World. The deſigns and effects of Conqueſts, are but the ſlaughter and ruin of Mankind, the ravaging of Countries, and defacing the World. Thoſe of wiſe and juſt Governments, are preſerving and encreaſing the Lives and Generations of Men, ſecuring their Poſſeſſions, encouraging their Endeavours, and by Peace and Riches, improving and adorning the ſeveral Scenes of the World.

So the Inſtitutions of *Moſes*, leave him a Diviner Character, than the Victories of *Joſhua*. Thoſe of *Belus*, *Oſyris*, and *Janus*, than the Proweſs of *Ninus*, *Cyrus*, and *Seſoſtris*. And if among the Antients, ſome men have been eſteemed Heroes, by the brave Atchievements of great Conqueſts and Victories; It has been, by the wiſe Inſtitution of Laws and Governments, that Others have been honoured and adored as Gods.

ESSAY IV.

Of Poetry.

THE Two common Shrines, to which moſt Men offer up the Application of their Thoughts and their Lives, are Profit and Pleaſure, and by their Devotions to either of theſe, they are vulgarly diſtinguiſhed into Two Sects, and called either Buſie or Idle Men. Whether theſe Terms differ in meaning, or only in ſound, I know very well may be diſputed, and with appearance enough, ſince the Covetous Man takes perhaps as much Pleaſure in his Gains as the Voluptuous does in his Luxury, and would not purſue his Buſineſs unleſs he were pleaſed with it, upon the laſt Account of what he moſt wiſhes and deſires, nor would care for the encreaſe of his Fortunes, unleſs he

propoſed thereby, that of his Pleaſures too, in one kind or other, ſo that Pleaſure may be ſaid to be his end, whether he will allow to find it in his purſuit or no. Much ado there has been, many Words ſpent, or (to ſpeak with more reſpect to the antient Philoſophers) many Diſputes have been raiſed upon this Argument, I think to little purpoſe, and that all has been rather, an Exerciſe of Wit than an Enquiry after Truth, and all Controverſies that can never end, had better perhaps never begin. The beſt is to take Words as they are moſt commonly ſpoken and meant, like Coyn as it moſt currantly paſſes, without raiſing ſcruples upon the weight or the allay, unleſs the cheat or the defect, be groſs and evident. Few things in the World or none, will bear too much refining, a Thred too fine Spun will eaſily break, and the Point of a Needle too finely Filed. The uſual acceptation, takes Profit and Pleaſure, for two different things, and not only calls the Followers or Votaries of them, by ſeveral Names of Buſie and of Idle Men, but diſtinguiſhes the Faculties of the mind, that are

are Converſant about them, calling the Operations of the firſt, Wiſdom, and of the other, Wit, which is a *Saxon* Word, that is uſed to expreſs, what the *Spaniards* and *Italians* call *Ingenio*, and the *French*, *Eſprit*, both from the *Latin*, but I think Wit more peculiarly ſignifies that of *Poetry*, as may occur upon Remarks of the *Runick* Language. To the firſt of theſe are Attributed, the Inventions or Productions of things generally eſteemed the moſt neceſſary, uſeful, or profitable to Humane Life, either in private Poſſeſſions or publick Inſtitutions: To the other, thoſe Writings or Diſcourſes, which are the moſt Pleaſing or Entertaining, to all that read or hear them; Yet according to the Opinion of thoſe that link them together, As the Inventions of Sages and Lawgivers themſelves, do pleaſe as well as profit thoſe who approve and follow them, ſo thoſe of Poets, Inſtruct and Profit as well as Pleaſe ſuch as are Converſant in them, and the happy mixture of both theſe, makes the excellency in both thoſe compoſitions, and has given occaſion for eſteeming,

or at leaſt for calling, Heroick Virtue and Poetry, Divine.

The Names given to Poets, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, expreſs the ſame Opinion of them in thoſe Nations; The *Greek* ſignifying Makers or Creators, ſuch as raiſe admirable Frames and Fabricks out of nothing, which ſtrike with wonder and with pleaſure, the Eyes and Imaginations of thoſe who behold them; The *Latin* makes the ſame Word, common to Poets and to Prophets. Now as Creation, is the firſt Attribute and higheſt Operation of Divine Power, ſo is Prophecy the greateſt Emanation of Divine Spirit in the World. As the Names in thoſe Two Learned Languages, ſo the Cauſes of Poetry, are by the Writers of them, made to be Divine, and to proceed from a Cœleſtial Fire or Divine Inſpiration, and by the vulgar Opinions, recited or related to in many paſſages of thoſe Authors, the Effects of Poetry were likewiſe thought Divine and Supernatural, and Power of Charms and Enchantments were aſcribed to it.

Carmina vel Cœlo poſſunt deducere Lunam,

Carmi-

Carminibus Circe ſocios mutavit Ulyſſis,
Frigidus in prato cantando rumpitur Anguis.

But I can eaſily admire Poetry, and yet without adoring it, I can allow it to ariſe from the greateſt Excellency of natural Temper, or the greateſt Race of Native Genius, without exceeding the reach of what is Human, or giving it any Approaches of Divinity, which is, I doubt debaſed or diſhonoured, by aſcribing to it any thing, that is in the compaſs of our Action, or even Comprehenſion, unleſs it be raiſed by an immediate influence from it ſelf. I cannot allow Poetry to be more Divine in its effects, than in its cauſes, nor any Operation produced by it, to be more than purely natural, or to deſerve any other ſort of wonder, than thoſe of Muſick, or of Natural Magick, however any of them have appeared to minds little Verſed in the Speculations of Nature, of occult Qualities, and the force of Numbers or of Sounds. Whoever talks of drawing down the Moon from Heaven, by force of Verſes or of Charms, either be-

believes not himself, or too easily believes what others told him, or perhaps follows an Opinion, begun by the Practise of some Poet, upon the facility of some People, who knowing the time when an Eclypse would happen, told them, he would by his Charms call down the Moon at such an hour, and was by them thought to have performed it.

When I read that Charming Description in *Virgil's* Eighth Eclogue, of all sorts of Charms and Fascinations by Verses, by Images, by Knots, by Numbers, by Fire, by Herbs, imployed upon occasion of a violent Passion, from a jealous or disappointed Love: I have recourse to the strong Impressions of Fables and of Poetry, to the easy mistakes of Popular Opinions, to the Force of Imagination, to the Secret Virtues of several Herbs, and to the Powers of Sounds: And I am sorry, the Natural History, or Account of Fascination, has not imployed the Pen of some Person, of such excellent Wit, and deep Thought and Learning, as *Casaubon*, who Writ that curious and useful Treatise of *Enthusiasm*, and

by

by it discovered the hidden or mistaken Sources of that Delusion, so frequent in all Regions and Religions of the World, and which had so fatally spread over our Country in that Age, in which this Treatise was so seasonably published. 'Tis much to be lamented, That he lived not to compleat that Work, in the Second Part he promised; or that his Friends neglected the publishing it, if it were left in Papers, though loose and unfinished. I think a clear Account of Enthusiasm and Fascination, from their natural Causes, would very much deserve from Mankind in general, as well as from the Common-wealth of Learning; might perhaps prevent many publick disorders, and save the Lifes of many innocent, deluded or deluding People, who suffer so frequently, upon Account of Witches and Wizards. I have seen many miserable Examples of this kind, in my youth at home, and tho' the Humor or Fashion, be a good deal worn out of the World, within Thirty or Forty Years past, yet it still remains in several remote parts of *Germany*, *Sweden*, and some other Countries.

But

But to return to the Charms of Poetry, if the forlaken Lover, in that Eclogue of *Virgil*, had expected only from the Force of her Verſes, or her Charms, what is the Burthen of the Song, to bring *Daphnis* home from the Town where he was gone and engaged in a new Amour; if ſhe had pretended only to revive an old fainting Flame, or to damp a new one that was kindling in his Breaſt, ſhe might, for ought I know, have compaſſed ſuch Ends, by the Power of ſuch Charms, and without other than very Natural Enchantments. For there is no Queſtion, but true Poetry may have the Force, to raiſe Paſſions and to allay them, to change and to extinguiſh them, to temper Joy and Grief, to raiſe Love and Fear, nay to turn Fear into Boldneſs, and Love into Indifference, and into Hatred it ſelf; and I eaſily believe, That the diſheartned *Spartans*, were new animated, and recovered their loſt Courage, by the Songs of *Tyrtæus*, that the Cruelty and Revenge of *Phalaris*, were changed by the Odes of *Steſichorus*, into the greateſt Kindneſs and Eſteem, and that many men were as paſſionately

Ena-

Enamoured, by the Charms of *Sappho*'s Wit and Poetry, as by those of Beauty, in *Flora* or *Thais*; for 'tis not only Beauty gives Love, but Love gives Beauty to the Object that raises it; and if the possession be strong enough, let it come from what it will, there is always Beauty enough in the Person that gives it. Nor is it any great Wonder, that such Force should be found in Poetry, since in it are assembled all the Powers of Eloquence, of Musick, and of Picture, which are all allowed to make so strong Impressions upon Humane Minds. How far Men have been affected with all or any of these, needs little Proof or Testimony; The Examples have been known enough in *Greece* and in *Italy*, where some have fallen down right in Love, with the Ravishing Beauties of a lovely Object, drawn by the Skill of an admirable Painter; nay, Painters themselves, have fallen in Love with some of their own Productions, and doated on them, as on a Mistress or a fond Child, which distinguishes among the *Italians*, the several Pieces that are done by the same Hand, into several Degrees of those made for

Studio,

Studio, cum Diligentia, or *Cum Amore*; whereof the last are ever the most excelling. But there needs no more Instances of this kind, than the Stories related, and believed by the best Authors, as known and undisputed; Of the two young *Grecians*, one whereof ventured his Life, to be lock'd up all Night in the Temple, and satisfie his Passion with the Embraces and Enjoyment of a Statue of *Venus*, that was there set up, and designed for another sort of Adoration; The other pined away and dyed for being hindred his perpetually gazing, admiring, and embracing a Statue at *Athens*.

The Powers of Musick, are either felt or known by all Men, and are allowed to work strangely upon the Mind and the Body, the Passions and the Blood, to raise Joy and Grief, to give Pleasure and Pain, to cure Diseases, and the Mortal Sting of the *Tarantula*, to give Motions to the Feet as well as the Heart, to Compose disturbed Thoughts, to assist and heighten Devotion it self. We need no Recourse to the Fables of *Orpheus* or *Amphion*, or the Force of their Musick upon Fishes and Beasts, 'tis enough that

that we find the Charming of Serpents, and the Cure or Allay of an evil Spirit or Possession, attributed to it in Sacred Writ.

For the Force of Eloquence, that so often raised and appeased the Violence of Popular Commotions, and confuted such Convulsions in the *Athenian* State, no Man need more to make him acknowledge it, than to consider *Cæsar*, one of the greatest and wisest of mortal Men, come upon the Tribunal, full of Hatred and Revenge, and with a determined Resolution to Condemn *Milo*, yet upon the Force of *Cicero*'s Eloquence, (in an Oration for his Defence) begin to change Countenance, turn pale, shake to that degree, that the Papers he held, fell out of his hand, as if he had been fighted with Words, that never was so with Blows, and at last change all his Anger into Clemency, and acquit the brave Criminal, instead of condemning him.

Now if the Strength of these three mighty Powers, be united in Poetry, we need not wonder, that such Virtues, and such Honours have been attributed to it, that it has been thought to be inspired, or has been called Divine,

vine, and yet I think it will not be disputed, that the Force of Wit, and of Reasoning, the Height of Conceptions and Expressions, may be found in Poetry as well as in Oratory, the Life and Spirit of Representation or Picture, as much as in Painting, and the Force of Sounds as well as in Musick; and how far these three natural Powers together may extend, and to what Effect, (even such as may be mistaken for Supernatural or Magical) I leave it to such Men to consider, whose Thoughts turn to such Speculations as these, or who by their native Temper and Genius, are in some degree disposed to receive the Impressions of them. For my part, I do not wonder, that the famous Doctor *Harvey*, when he was reading *Virgil*, should sometimes throw him down upon the Table, and say he had a Devil; not that the learned *Marc Casaubon*, should find such Charming Pleasures and Emotions, as he describes, upon the reading some Parts of *Lucretius*; that so many should cry, and with downright Tears, at some Tragedies of *Shakespear*, and so many more should feel such Turns and Curdling of their Blood,

Blood, upon the reading or hearing ſome excellent Pieces of Poetry, nor that *Octavia* fell into a Swound, at the recital made by *Virgil* of thoſe Verſes in the Sixth of his *Æneides*.

This is enough to aſſert the Powers of Poetry, and diſcover the Ground of thoſe Opinions of old, which derived it from Divine Inſpiration, and gave it ſo great a ſhare, in the ſuppoſed Effects of Sorcery or Magick. But as the Old Romances, ſeem to leſſen the Honour of true Proweſs and Valour in their Knights, by giving ſuch a part in all their Chief Adventures to Enchantment, ſo the true excellency and juſt eſteem of Poetry, ſeems rather debaſed than exalted, by the Stories or Belief of the Charms performed by it, which among the *Northern* Nations, grew ſo ſtrong and ſo general, that about Five or Six Hundred Years ago, all the *Runick* Poetry came to be decryed, and thoſe ancient Characters, in which they were Written, to be aboliſhed by the Zeal of Biſhops, and even by Orders and Decrees of State, which has given a great Maim, or rather an irrecoverable Loſs to the Story of thoſe *Northern* Kingdoms, the Seat

of our Anceſtors, in all the *Weſtern* parts of *Europe*.

The more true and natural Source of Poetry may be diſcovered, by obſerving to what God this Inſpiration was aſcribed by the Antients, which was *Apollo* or the Sun, eſteemed among them the God of Learning in general, but more particularly of Muſick and of Poetry. The Myſtery of this Fable, means I ſuppoſe, that a certain Noble and Vital Heat of Temper, but eſpecially of the Brain, is the true Spring of theſe Two Arts or Sciences: This was that Cœleſtial Fire, which gave ſuch a pleaſing Motion and Agitation to the minds of thoſe Men, that have been ſo much admired in the World, that raiſes ſuch infinite images of things ſo agreeable and delightful to Mankind: By the influence of this Sun, are produced thoſe Golden and Inexhauſted Mines of Invention, which has furniſhed the World with Treaſures ſo highly eſteemed, and ſo univerſally known and uſed, in all the Regions that have yet been diſcovered. From this ariſes that Elevation of Genius, which can never be produced by any Art or ſtudy, by Pains

or by Induſtry, which cannot be taught by Precepts or Examples, and therefore is agreed by all, to be the pure and free Gift of Heaven or of Nature, and to be a Fire kindled out of ſome hidden ſpark of the very firſt Conception.

But tho' Invention be the Mother of Poetry, yet this Child, is like all others, born naked, and muſt be Nouriſhed with Care, Cloathed with Exactneſs and Elegance, Educated with Induſtry, Inſtructed with Art, Improved by Application, Corrected with Severity, and Accompliſhed with Labour and with Time, before it Arrives at any great Perfection or Growth: 'Tis certain that no Compoſition requires ſo many ſeveral Ingredients, or of more different ſorts than this, nor that to excel in any qualities, there are neceſſary ſo many Gifts of Nature, and ſo many improvements of Learning and of Art. For there muſt be an univerſal Genius, of great Compaſs as well as great Elevation. There muſt be ſpritely Imagination or Fancy, fertile in a thouſand Productions, ranging over infinite Ground, piercing into every Corner, and by the Light of

that true Poetical Fire, discovering a thousand little Bodies or Images in the World, and Similitudes among them, unseen to common Eyes, and which could not be discovered, without the Rays of that Sun.

Besides the heat of Invention and liveliness of Wit, there must be the coldness of good Sense and soundness of Judgment, to distinguish between things and conceptions, which at first sight, or upon short glances, seem alike; to choose among infinite productions of Wit and Fancy, which are worth preserving and cultivating, and which are better stifled in the Birth, or thrown away when they are born, as not worth bringing up. Without the Forces of Wit, all Poetry is flat and languishing; without the succors of Judgment, 'tis wild and extravagant. The true wonder of Poesy is, That such contraries must meet to compose it, a Genius both Penetrating and Solid; in Expression both Delicacy and Force; and the Frame or Fabrick of a true Poem, must have something both Sublime and Just, Amazing and Agreeable. There must be a great Agitation of Mind to Invent, a great Calm to Judge

and

and correct, there must be upon the same Tree, and at the same Time, both Flower and Fruit. To work up this Metal into exquisite Figure, there must be imploy'd the Fire, the Hammer, the Chizel and the File. There must be a general Knowledge both of Nature and of Arts, and to go the lowest that can be, there are required *Genius*, Judgment, and Application; for without this last, all the rest will not serve turn, and none ever was a great Poet, that applyed himself much to any thing else.

When I speak of Poetry, I mean not an Ode or an Elegy, a Song or a Satyr, nor by a Poet the Composer of any of these, but of a just Poem: And after all I have said, 'tis no wonder, there should be so few have appeared, in any Parts or any Ages of the World, or that such as have, should be so much admired, and have almost Divinity ascribed to them, and to their Works.

Whatever has been among those, who are mentioned with so much Praise or Admiration by the Antients, but are lost to us, and unknown any further than their Names, I think no Man has been so bold among those that remain

to question the title of *Homer* and *Virgil*, not only to the first Rank, but to the supream Dominion in this State, and from whom, as the great Law-givers as well as Princes, all the Laws and Orders of it, are, or may be derived. *Homer* was without Dispute, the most Universal *Genius* that has been known in the World, and *Virgil* the most accomplish't. To the first must be allowed, the most fertile Invention, the richest Vein, the most general Knowledge, and the most lively Expression: To the last, The noblest Idea's, the justest Institution, the wisest Conduct, and the choycest Elocution. To speak in the Painters Terms, we find in the Works of *Homer*, the most Spirit, Force, and Life; in those of *Virgil*, the best Design, the truest Proportions, and the greatest Grace; The Colouring in both seems equal, and indeed, in both is admirable. *Homer* had more Fire and Rapture, *Virgil* more Light and Sweetness; or at least the Poetical Fire was more raging in one, but clearer in the other, which makes the first more amazing, and the latter more agreeable. The Oare was richer in one, but in t'other more refined,

fined, and better allay'd, to make up excellent Work. Upon the whole, I think it muſt be confeſſed, that *Homer* was of the two, and perhaps, of all others, the vaſteſt, the ſublimeſt, and the moſt wonderful *Genius*; and that he has been generally ſo eſteemed, there cannot be a greater Teſtimony given, than what has been by ſome obſerved that not only the Greateſt Maſters, have found in his Works, the beſt and trueſt Principles of all their Sciences or Arts, but that the nobleſt Nations, have derived from them, the Original of their ſeveral Races, though it be hardly yet agreed, Whether his Story be True, or Fiction. In ſhort, theſe two immortal Poets, muſt be allowed to have ſo much excelled in their kinds, as to have exceeded all Compariſon; to have even extinguiſhed Emulation, and in a manner confined true Poetry, not only to their two Languages, but to their very Perſons. And I am apt to believe ſo much of the true *Genius* of Poetry in general, and of its Elevation in theſe two Particulars, that I know not, whether of all the Numbers of Mankind, that live within the Compaſs of a Thouſand Years; for one

Man that is born capable of making ſuch a Poet as *Homer* or *Virgil*, there may not be a Thouſand born Capable of making as great Generals of Armies, or Miniſters of State, as any the moſt Renowned in Story.

I do not here intend to make a further Critick upon Poetry, which were too great a Labour, nor to give Rules for it, which were as great a Preſumption: Beſides, there has been ſo much Paper blotted upon theſe Subjects, in this Curious and Cenſuring Age, that 'tis all grown tedious or Repetition. The Modern *French* Wits (or Pretenders) have been very ſevere in their Cenſures, and exact in their Rules, I think to very little Purpoſe; For I know not, why they might not have contented themſelves, with thoſe given by *Ariſtotle* and *Horace*, and have Tranſlated them rather than Commented upon them, for all they have done has been no more, ſo as they ſeem, by their Writings of this kind, rather to have valued themſelves, than improved any body elſe. The Truth is, there is ſomething in the *Genius* of Poetry, too Libertine to be confined to ſo many Rules; and whoever goes about to ſub-

ject

ject it to ſuch Conſtraints, loſes both its Spirit and Grace, which are ever Native, and never learnt, even of the beſt Maſters. 'Tis as if to make excellent Honey, you ſhould cut off the Wings of your Bees, confine them to their Hive or their Stands, and lay Flowers before them, ſuch as you think the ſweeteſt, and like to yield the fineſt Extraction; you had as good pull out their Stings, and make arrant Drones of them. They muſt range through Fields, as well as Gardens, chooſe ſuch Flowers as they pleaſe, and by Proprieties and Scents they only know and diſtinguiſh: They muſt work up their Cells with Admirable Art, extract their Honey with infinite Labour, and ſever it from the Wax, with ſuch Diſtinction and Choyce, as belongs to none but themſelves to perform or to judge.

It would be too much Mortification, to theſe great Arbitrary Rulers, among the *French* Writers, or our own, to Obſerve the worthy Productions that have been formed by their Rules, the Honour they have received in the World, or the Pleaſure they have given Mankind. But to comfort them,

I do not know, there was any great Poet in *Greece*, after the Rules of that Art layd down by *Aristotle*, nor in *Rome*, after those by *Horace*, which yet none of our Moderns pretend to have out-done. Perhaps *Theocritus* and *Lucan*, may be alledg'd against this Assertion, but the first offered no further, than at Idills or Eclogues; and the last, though he must be avowed for a true and a happy *Genius*, and to have made some very high Flights, yet he is so unequal to himself, and his Muse is so young, that his Faults are too noted, to allow his Pretences. *Feliciter audet*, is the true Character of *Lucan*, as of *Ovid*, *Lusit amabiliter*. After all, the utmost that can be atchieved, or I think pretended, by any Rules in this Art, is but to hinder some men from being very ill Poets, but not to make any man a very good one. To judge who is so, we need go no further for Instruction, than three Lines of *Horace*.

——*Ille meum qui Pectus inaniter angit,*
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut Magus, *& modo me* Thebis, *modo ponit*
(Athenis.

He

He is a Poet,

Who vainly anguiſhes my Breaſt,
Provokes, allays, and with falſe Terror fills,
Like a Magician, and now ſets me down
In Thebes, *and now in* Athens.

Whoever does not affect and move the ſame preſent Paſſions in you, that he repreſents in others, and at other times, raiſe Images about you, as a Conjurer is ſaid to do Spirits, Tranſport you to the Places and to the Perſons he deſcribes, cannot be judged to be a Poet, though his Meaſures are never ſo juſt, his Feet never ſo ſmooth, or his Sounds never ſo ſweet.

But inſtead of Critick, or Rules concerning Poetry, I ſhall rather turn my Thoughts to the Hiſtory of it, and obſerve the Antiquity, the Uſes, the Changes, the Decays, that have attended this great Empire of Wit.

It is I think generally agreed, to have been the firſt ſort of Writing that has been uſed in the World; and in ſeveral Nations to have preceded the very Invention or Uſage of Letters. This laſt is certain in *America*, where the firſt *Spaniards* met with many

many ſtrains of Poetry, and left ſeveral of them Tranſlated into their Language, which ſeem to have flowed from a true Poetick Vein, before any Letters were known in thoſe Regions. The ſame is probable of the *Scythians*, the *Grecians*, and the *Germans*. *Ariſtotle* ſays, the *Agathyrſi* had their Laws all in Verſe; and *Tacitus*, that the *Germans* had no Annals nor Records but what were ſo; and for the *Grecian* Oracles delivered in them, we have no certain Account when they began, but rather reaſon to believe it was before the Introduction of Letters from *Phœnicia* among them. *Pliny* tells it, as a thing known, that *Pherecides* was the firſt who Writ Proſe in the *Greek* Tongue, and that he lived about the time of *Cyrus*; whereas *Homer* and *Heſiod* lived ſome Hundreds of Years before that Age; and *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Muſæus*, ſome Hundreds before them: And of the *Sybils*, ſeveral were before any of thoſe, and in times as well as places, whereof we have no clear Records now remaining. What *Solon* and *Pythagoras* Writ, is ſaid to have been in Verſe, who were ſomething older than *Cyrus*;

and

and before them, were *Archilochus*, *Simonides*, *Tyrtæus*, *Sappho*, *Steſichorus* and ſeveral other Poets famous in their times. The ſame thing is reported of *Chaldæa*, *Syria* and *China*; among the ancient *Weſtern Goths* (our Anceſtors) the *Runick* Poetry, ſeems to have been as old as their Letters; and their Laws, their Precepts of Wiſdom as well as their Records, their Religious Rites as well as their Charms and Incantations, to have been all in Verſe.

Among the *Hebrews*, and even in Sacred Writ the moſt antient, is by ſome Learned Men eſteemed to be the Book of *Job*, and that it was Written before the time of *Moſes*, and that it was a Tranſlation into *Hebrew* out of the old *Chaldæan* or *Arabian* Language. It may probably be conjectured, that he was not a *Jew*, from the place of his abode, which appears to have been ſeated between the *Chaldæans* of one ſide, and the *Sabæans* (who were of *Arabia*) on the other, and by many Paſſages, of that admirable and truly inſpired Poem, the Author ſeems to have lived in ſome Parts near the Mouth of *Euphrates* or the

Perſian

Persian Gulf, where he contemplated the Wonders of the Deep as well as the other Works of Nature, common to those Regions. Nor is it easy to find any Traces of the *Mosaical* Rites or Institutions, either in the Divine Worship, or the Morals related to, in those Writings: For not only Sacrifices and Praises, were much more antient in Religious Service, than the Age of *Moses*; But the Opinion of one Diety, and Adored without any Idol or Representation was Professed and Received among the antient *Persians* and *Hetrusians* and *Chaldeans*. So that if *Job* was an *Hebrew*, 'tis probable he may have been of the Race of *Heber* who lived in *Chaldea*, or of *Abraham* who is supposed to have left that Country for the Profession or Worship of one God, rather than from the Branch of *Isaac* and *Israel*, who lived in the Land of *Canaan*. Now I think it is out of Controversy, that the Book of *Job* was Written Originally in Verse, and was a Poem upon the Subject of the Justice and Power of God, and in Vindication of his Providence, against the common Arguments of Atheistical Men, who took occasion to dispute it,

from

from the usual Events of Human things, by which so many ill and impious Men seem Happy and Prosperous in the course of their Lives, and so many Pious and Just Men, seem Miserable or Afflicted. The *Spanish* Translation of the *Jews* in *Ferrara*, which pretends to render the *Hebrew* (as near as could be) word for word; and for which, all Translators of the Bible since, have had great Regard, gives us the Two first Chapters, and the Last from the seventh Verse in Prose, as an Historical Introduction and Conclusion of the Work, and all the rest in Verse, except the Transitions from one Part or Person of this Sacred Dialogue to another.

But if we take the Books of *Moses* to be the most antient in the *Hebrew* Tongue, yet the Song of *Moses* may probably have been Written before the rest; as that of *Deborah*, before the Book of *Judges*, being Praises sung to God, upon the Victories or Successes of the *Israelites*, related in both. And I never read the last, without observing in it, as True and Noble Strains of Poetry and Picture, as in any other Language whatsoever, in spight of all Disadvantages from Translations into so different

Tongues

Tongues and common Prose. If an Opinion of some Learned Men both Modern and Antient could be allowed, that *Esdras* was the Writer or Compiler of the first Historical Parts of the Old Testament, though from the same Divine Inspiration as that of *Moses* and the other Prophets, then the Psalms of *David* would be the first Writings we find in *Hebrew*; and next to them, the Song of *Solomon* which was written when he was young, and *Ecclesiastes* when he was old: So that from all sides, both Sacred and Prophane, It appears that *Poetry* was the first sort of Writing known and used in the several Nations of the World.

It may seem strange, I confess, upon the first thought, that a sort of Style so regular and so difficult, should have grown in use, before the other so easy and so loose: But if we consider, what the first end of Writing was, it will appear probable from Reason as well as Experience; For the true and General End, was but the Help of Memory, in preserving that of Words and of Actions, which would otherwise have been lost, and soon vanish away, with the Transitory Passage of Human Breath and

and Life. Before the Diſcourſes and Diſputes of Philoſophers, began to buſie or amuſe the *Grecian* Wits, there was nothing Written in Proſe, but either Laws, ſome ſhort Sayings of Wiſe men, or ſome Riddles, Parables or Fables, wherein were couched by the Antients, many Strains of Natural or Moral Wiſdom and Knowledge; and beſides theſe, ſome ſhort Memorials of Perſons, Actions, and of Times. Now 'tis obvious enough to conceive, how much eaſier, all ſuch Writings ſhould be Learnt and Remembred, in Verſe than in Proſe, not only by the Pleaſure of Meaſures and of Sounds, which gives a great Impreſſion to Memory, but by the order of Feet which makes a great Facility of Tracing one Word after another, by knowing what ſort of Foot or Quantity, muſt neceſſarily have preceded or followed the Words we retain and deſire to make up.

This made Poetry ſo neceſſary, before Letters were invented, and ſo convenient afterwards; and ſhews, that the great Honor and general Requeſt, wherein it has always been, has not proceeded only, from the Pleaſure and Delight, but likewiſe from the Uſefulneſs and

Profit of Poetical Writings.

This leads me naturally to the Subjects of Poetry, which have been generally, Praise, Instruction, Story, Love, Grief, and Reproach. Praise, was the Subject of all the Songs and Psalms mentioned in Holy Writ, of the Hymns of *Orpheus*, of *Homer* and many others; Of the *Carmina Secularia* in *Rome*, Composed all and Designed for the Honor of their Gods; Of *Pindar*, *Stesichorus*, and *Tyrtaus*, in the Praises of Virtue or Virtuous Men. The Subject of *Job*, is Instruction concerning the Attributes of God and the Works of Nature. Those of *Simonides*, *Phocillides*, *Theognis*, and several other of the smaller *Greek* Poets, with what passes for *Pythagoras*, are Instructions in Morality: The first Book of *Hesiod* and *Virgils Georgicks*, in Agriculture, and *Lucretius* in the deepest natural Philosophy. Story, is the proper Subject of *Heroick* Poems, as *Homer* and *Virgil* in their inimitable *Iliads* and *Æneids*; And *Fable*, which is a sort of Story, in the *Metamorphosis* of *Ovid*. The *Lyrick* Poetry has been chiefly Conversant about Love, tho' turned often upon Praise too; and the Vein of Pastorals and Eclogues has run the same

ſame courſe, as may be obſerved in *Theocritus*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, who was I think, the firſt and laſt of true *Lyrick* Poets among the *Latins*: Grief has been always the Subject of *Elegy*, and Reproach that of *Satyr*. The *Dramatick* Poeſy has been Compoſed of all theſe, but the chief end ſeems to have been Inſtruction, and under the diſguiſe of Fables, or the Pleaſure of Story; to ſhew the Beauties and the Rewards of Virtue, the Deformities and Misfortunes, or Puniſhment of Vice: By Examples of both, to Encourage one, and Deter Men from the other; to Reform ill Cuſtoms, Correct ill Manners, and Moderate all violent Paſſions. Theſe are the general Subjects of both Parts; tho' Comedy give us but the Images of common Life, and Tragedy thoſe of the greater and more extraordinary Paſſions and Actions among Men. To go further upon this Subject, would be to tread ſo beaten Paths, that to Travel in them, only raiſes Duſt, and is neither of Pleaſure nor of Uſe.

For the Changes that have happened in Poetry, I ſhall obſerve one Antient, and the others that are Modern will be too Remarkable, in the

Declines or Decays of this great Empire of Wit. The first Change of Poetry was made, by Translating it into Prose, or Cloathing it in those loose Robes, or common Veils that disguised or covered the true Beauty of its Features, and Exactness of its Shape. This was done first by *Æsop* in *Greek*, but the Vein was much more antient in the *Eastern* Regions, and much in Vogue, as we may observe, in the many Parables used in the old Testament, as well as in the New. And there is a Book of Fables, of the sort of *Æsop's*, Translated out of *Persian*, and pretended to have been so, into that Language out of the antient *Indian*; But though it seems Genuine of the *Eastern* Countries, yet I do not take it to be so old, nor to have so much Spirit as the *Greek*. The next Succession of Poetry in Prose, seems to have been in the *Miletian* Tales, which were a sort of little Pastoral Romances; and though much in request in old *Greece* and *Rome*, yet we have no Examples that I know of them, unless it be the *Longi Pastoralia*, which gives a Tast of the great Delicacy and Pleasure, that was found so generally in those sort

ſort of Tales. The laſt kind of Poetry in Proſe, is that which in latter Ages has over-run the World, under the Name of Romances, which tho' it ſeems Modern, and a Production of the *Gothick* Genius, yet the Writing is antient. The remainders of *Petronius Arbiter*, ſeem to be of this kind, and that which *Lucian* calls his True Hiſtory: But the moſt antient that paſſes by the Name, is *Heliodorus*, Famous for the Author's chuſing to loſe his Biſhoprick, rather than diſown that Child of his Wit. The true Spirit or Vein of antient Poetry in this kind, ſeems to ſhine moſt in Sir *Philip Sidney*, whom I eſteem both the greateſt Poet and the Nobleſt Genius of any that have left Writings behind them, and publiſhed in ours or any other modern Language; a Perſon born capable not only of forming the greateſt *Ideas*, but of leaving the nobleſt Examples, if the length of his Life had been equal to the excellence of his Wit and his Virtues.

With him I leave the Diſcourſe of antient Poetry, and to diſcover the Decays of this Empire, muſt turn to that of the modern, which was introduced after the Decays, or rather Extinction

of the old, as if true Poetry being dead, an Apparition of it walked about. This mighty Change, arrived by no ſmaller Occaſions, nor more ignoble Revolutions, than thoſe which deſtroyed the antient Empire and Government of *Rome*, and Erected ſo many New ones upon their Ruins, by the Invaſions and Conqueſts, or the general Inundations of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and other Barbarous or Northern Nations, upon thoſe Parts of *Europe*, that had been ſubject to the *Romans*. After the Conqueſts made by *Cæſar* upon *Gaul*, and the nearer Parts of *Germany*, which were continued and enlarged in the times of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* by their Lieutenants or Generals, great Numbers of *Germans* and *Gauls* reſorted to the *Roman* Armies and to the City it ſelf, and habituated themſelves there, as many *Spaniards*, *Syrians*, *Græcians* had done before upon the Conqueſt of thoſe Countries. This mixture, ſoon Corrupted the Purity of the *Latin* Tongue, ſo that in *Lucan*, but more in *Seneca*, we find a great and harſh Allay, entered into the Style of the *Auguſtan* Age. After *Trajan* and *Adrian* had ſubdued many *German* and *Scythian* Nations, on both ſides of the

Danube

Danube, the Commerce of thoſe barbarous People grew very frequent with the *Romans*; and I am apt to think, that the little Verſes aſcribed to *Adrian*, were in imitation of the *Runick* Poetry. The *Scythicas Pati Pruinas* of *Florus*, ſhews their Race or Clymate, and the firſt Rhyme that ever I read in *Latin*, with little Alluſions of Letters or Syllables, is in that of *Adrian* at his Death.

O Animula, vagula, blandula,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Palidula, lurida, timidula,
Nec ut ſoles dabis joca.

'Tis probable the old Spirit of Poetry, being loſt or frighted away by thoſe long and bloody Wars with ſuch barbarous Enemies, this New Ghoſt began to appear in its room, even about that Age, or elſe that *Adrian*, who affected that piece of Learning as well as others, and was not able to reach the old Vein, turned to a new one, which his Expeditions into thoſe Countries made more allowable in an Emperor, and his Example recommended to others. In the time of *Boetius*, who lived under *Theodorick* in *Rome*, we find the *Latin* Poetry

ſmell rank of this *Gothick* Imitation, and the old vein quite ſeared up.

After that Age, Learning grew every day more and more obſcured, by that Cloud of Ignorance, which coming from the *North*, and increaſing with the Numbers and Succeſſes of thoſe barbarous People, at length over-ſhadowed all *Europe* for ſo long together. The *Roman* Tongue began it ſelf to fail or be diſuſed, and by its Corruption made way for the Generation of three New Languages, in *Spain*, *Italy* and *France*. The Courts of the Princes and Nobles, who were of the Conquering Nations, for ſeveral Ages uſed their *Gothick*, or *Franc*, or *Saxon* Tongues, which were mingled with thoſe of *Germany*, where ſome of the *Goths* had ſojourned long, before they proceeded to their Conqueſts of the more *Southern* or *Weſtern* Parts. Wherever the *Roman* Colonies had long remained, and their Language had been generally ſpoken, the common People uſed that ſtill, but vitiated with the baſe allay of their Provincial Speech. This in *Charlemain's* time was called in *France*, *Ruſtica Romana*; and in *Spain* during the *Gothick* Reigns there, *Romance*; but in *England*, from whence all the *Roman*

Roman Souldiers, and great Numbers of the *Britains* moſt accuſtomed to their Commerce and Language, had been drained, for the Defence of *Gaul* againſt the barbarous Nations that invaded it about the time of *Valentinian*, that Tongue being wholly extinguiſh't, (as well as their own) made way for the intire uſe of the *Saxon* Language. With theſe Changes, the antient Poetry was wholly loſt in all theſe Countries, and a new ſort grew up by degrees, which was called by a new Name of Rhimes with an eaſy Change of the *Gothick* Word *Runes*, and not from the *Greek*, *Rythmes*, as is vulgarly ſuppoſed.

Runes, was properly the Name of the Antient *Gothick* Letters or Characters, which were Invented firſt or introduced by *Odin*, in the Colony or Kingdom of the *Getes* or *Goths*, which he Planted in the *North-Weſt* Parts, and round the *Baltick* Sea, as has been before related. But becauſe all the Writings, they had among them for many Ages, were in Verſe, it came to be the common Name of all ſorts of Poetry among the *Goths*, and the Writers or Compoſers of them, were called *Runers* or *Rymers*. They had likewiſe another Name for them,

or

or for ſome ſorts of them, which was *Vaſes* or *Wiſes*, and becauſe the Sages of that Nation, expreſſed the beſt of their Thoughts, and what Learning and Prudence they had, in theſe kind of Writings, they that ſucceeded beſt and with moſt Applauſe were termed Wiſemen, the good Senſe, or Learning, or uſeful Knowledge contained in them, was called Wiſdom, and the pleaſant or facetious Vein among them was called Wit, which was applied to all Spirit or Race of Poetry, where it was found in any Men, and was generally pleaſing to thoſe that heard or read them.

Of theſe *Runes*, there were in uſe among the *Goths* above a hundred ſeveral ſorts, ſome Compoſed in longer, ſome in ſhorter Lines, ſome equal and others unequal, with many different Cadencies, Quantities, or Feet, which in the pronouncing, make many different ſorts of Original or Natural Tunes. Some were Framed with Alluſions of Words, or Conſonance of Syllables, or of Letters, either in the ſame Line or in the Dyſtick, or by alternate Succeſſion and Reſemblance, which made a ſort of Gingle, that pleaſed the ruder Ears of that People. And becauſe

becauſe their Language was compoſed moſt of Monoſyllables, and of ſo great Numbers, many muſt end in the ſame Sound; another ſort of *Runes* were made, with the Care and Study of ending two Lines, or each other of four Lines, with Words of the ſame ſound, which being the eaſieſt, requiring leſs Art, and needing leſs Spirit (becauſe a certain Chime in the Sounds ſupplied that want, and pleaſed common Ears); this in time grew the moſt general among all the *Gothick* Colonies in *Europe*, and made Rhymes or Runes paſs for the modern Poetry, in theſe Parts of the World.

This was not uſed only in their modern Languages, but during thoſe ignorant Ages, even in that barbarous *Latin* which remained and was preſerved among the *Monks* and *Prieſts*, to diſtinguiſh them, by ſome ſhew of Learning from the Laity, who might well admire it, in what Degree ſoever, and Reverence the Profeſſors, when they themſelves could neither Write nor Read even in their own Language; I mean not only the Vulgar Lay-men, but even the Generality of Nobles, Barons, and Princes among them; and this laſted, till the antient Learning and Languages

began

began to be reſtored in *Europe*, about Two Hundred Years ago.

The common vein of the *Gothick Runes* was what is Termed *Dithyrambick*, and was of a raving or rambling ſort of Wit or Invention, looſe and flowing, with little Art or Confinement to any certain Meaſures or Rules; yet ſome of it wanted not the true Spirit of Poetry in ſome Degree, or that natural Inſpiration which has been ſaid to ariſe from ſome Spark of Poetical Fire, wherewith particular Men are born. And ſuch as it was, it ſerved the turn, not only to pleaſe, but even to Charm the Ignorant and Barbarous Vulgar, where it was in uſe. This made the *Runers* among the *Goths*, as much in requeſt and admired, as any of the antient and moſt celebrated Poets were among the Learned Nations; for among the blind, he that has one Eye is a Prince. They were as well as the others thought inſpired, and the Charms of their *Runick* Conceptions, were generally eſteemed Divine, or Magical at leaſt.

The ſubjects of them were various, but commonly the ſame with thoſe already obſerved in the true antient Poetry.

try. Yet this Vein was chiefly imployed, upon the Records of Bold and Martial Actions, and the Praiſes of Valiant Men that had fought Succeſsfully or Dyed Bravely, and theſe Songs or Ballads were uſually ſung at Feaſts, or in Circles of Young or Idle Perſons, and ſerved to inflame the Humour of War, of Slaughter and of Spoils among them. More refined Honour or Love had little Part in the Writings, becauſe it had little in the Lives or Actions of thoſe fierce People and bloody Times. Honour among them conſiſted in Victory, and Love in Rapes and in Luſt.

But as the true Flame of Poetry was rare among them, and the reſt was but Wild Fire that Sparkled or rather Crackled a while, and ſoon went out with little Pleaſure or Gazing of the Beholders; Thoſe *Runers* who could not raiſe Admiration by the Spirit of their Poetry, endeavoured to do it by another, which was that of Enchantments; This came in to ſupply the Defect of that ſublime and Marvellous, which has been found both in Poetry and Proſe among the Learned Antients. The *Gothick Runers* to Gain and Eſtabliſh the Credit and Admiration of their Rhymes, turned the uſe

of

of them very much to Incantations and Charms, pretending by them, to raiſe Storms, to Calm the Seas, to cauſe Terror in their Enemies, to Tranſport themſelves in the Air, to Conjure Spirits, to Cure Diſeaſes, and Stanch Bleeding Wounds, to make Women kind or eaſy, and Men hard or invulnerable; as one of their moſt antient *Runers*, affirms of himſelf and his own Atchievments, by Force of theſe Magical Arms. The Men or Women who were thought to perform ſuch Wonders or Enchantments, were from *Vitſes* or *Wiſes*, the Name of thoſe Verſes wherein their Charms were conceived, called *Wizards* or *Witches*.

Out of this Quarry, ſeem to have been raiſed, all thoſe Trophees of Enchantment, that appear in the whole Fabrick of the old *Spaniſh* Romances, which were the Productions of the *Gothick* Wit among them during their Reign, and after the Conqueſts of *Spain*, by the *Saracens*, they were applied to the long Wars between them and the Chriſtians. From the ſame perhaps may be derived, all the viſionary Tribe of *Faries*, *Elves*, and *Goblins*, of *Sprites* and of *Bul-beggars*, that ſerve not only to fright Children into whatever their Nurſes pleaſe, but

ſome-

ſometimes, by laſting Impreſſions, to diſquiet the ſleeps and the very Lives of Men and Women, till they grow to Years of Diſcretion, and that God knows is a Period of time, which ſome People Arrive to but very late, and perhaps others never. At leaſt this belief prevailed ſo far among the *Goths* and their Races, that all ſorts of Charms, were not only Attributed to their *Runes* or *Verſes*, but to their very Characters; ſo that about the Eleventh Century, they were forbidden and aboliſhed in *Sweden*, as they had been before in *Spain*, by Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Commands or Conſtitutions, and what has been ſince recovered of that Learning or Language, has been fetcht as far as *Yſland* it ſelf.

How much of this Kind, and of this Credulity remained even to our own Age, may be obſerved by any Man that Reflects ſo far as Thirty or Forty Years; how often Avouched, and how generally Credited were the Stories of *Fairies*, *Sprites*, *Witchcrafts*, and *Enchantments*; In ſome Parts of *France*, and not longer ago, the common People believed certainly, there were *Lougaroos*, or Men turned into Wolves; and I remember ſeveral *Iriſh* of the ſame mind. The

Remain-

Remainders are woven into our very Language, *Mara* in old *Runick*, was a *Goblin* that seized upon Men asleep in their Beds, and took from them all Speech and Motion. Old *Nicka* was a Sprite that came to strangle People who fell into the Water: *Bo* was a fierce *Gothick* Captain, Son of *Odin*, whose Name was used by his Souldiers when they would Fright or Surprise their Enemies; and the Proverb of Rhyming, *Rats to Death*, came I suppose from the same Root.

There were not longer since than the time I have mentioned, some Remainders of the *Runick* Poetry among the *Irish*. The Great Men of their Septs, among the many Offices of their Family, which continued always in the same Races, had not only a *Physician*, a *Hunts-man*, a *Smith*, and such like, but a *Poet*, and a *Tale-teller*: The first Recorded and Sung the Actions of their Ancestors, and Entertained the Company at Feasts; The Latter, Amuzed them with Tales when they were Melancholy and could not sleep: And a very Gallant Gentleman of the *North* of *Ireland* has told me, of his own Experience, That in his Wolf-Huntings there, when he used to be a-

broad

broad in the Mountains three or four Days together, and lay very ill a Nights; ſo as he could not well ſleep, they would bring him one of theſe *Tale-tellers*, that when he lay down, would begin a Story of a King, or a Gyant, a Dwarf and a Damoſel, and ſuch rambling ſtuff, and continue it all Night long in ſuch an even Tone, that you heard it going on, whenever you awaked; and he believed nothing any Phyſitians give, could have ſo good and ſo innocent effect, to make Men ſleep, in any Pains or Diſtempers of Body or Mind. I remember in my youth, ſome Perſons of our Country to have ſaid Grace in Rhymes, and others their conſtant Prayers; and 'tis vulgar enough, that ſome Deeds or Conveyances of Land, have been ſo, ſince the Conqueſt.

In ſuch poor wretched Weeds as theſe, was Poetry cloathed during thoſe ſhades of Ignorance that over-ſpread all *Europe*, for ſo many Ages after the Sun ſet of the *Romah* Learning and Empire together, which were Succeeded by ſo many New Dominions, or Plantations of the *Gothick* Swarms, and by a New Face of Cuſtoms, Habit, Language, and almoſt of Nature: But upon the dawn of a New Day, and the Reſurrection of other Sci-

ences, with the Two Learned Languages among us, This of Poetry began to appear very early, tho' very unlike it ſelf, and in ſhapes as well as Cloathes, in Humor and in Spirit very different from the Antient. It was now all in Rhyme, after the *Gothick* Faſhion, for indeed none of the ſeveral Dialects of that Language or Allay, would bear the Compoſure of ſuch Feet and Meaſures, as were in uſe among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and ſome that attempted it, ſoon left it off, deſpairing of Succeſs. Yet in this new Dreſs, Poetry was not without ſome Charms, eſpecially thoſe of Grace and Sweetneſs, and the Ear begun to ſhine in the Hands and Works of the firſt Refiners. *Petrarch*, *Ronſard*, *Spenser*, met with much Applauſe upon the Subjects of Love, Praiſe, Grief, Reproach. *Arioſto* and *Taſſo*, entred boldly upon the Scene of *Heroick* Poems, but having not Wings for ſo high Flights, began to Learn of the old Ones, fell upon their Imitations, and chiefly of *Virgil*, as far as the Force of their Genius, or Diſadvantage of New Languages and Cuſtoms would allow. The Religion of the Gentiles, had been woven into the Contexture of all the antient Poetry, with a very agreable mixture, which made

made the Moderns affect, to give that of Christianity, a place also in their Poems. But the true Religion, was not found to become Fiction so well, as a false had done, and all their Attempts of this kind, seemed rather to debase Religion, than to heighten Poetry. *Spenser* endeavoured to supply this, with Morality, and to make Instruction, instead of Story, the Subject of an *Epick* Poem. His Execution was Excellent, and his Flights of Fancy very Noble and High, but his Design was Poor, and his Moral lay so bare, that it lost the Effect; 'tis true, the Pill was Gilded, but so thin, that the Colour and the Taste were too easily discovered.

After these three, I know none of the Moderns that have made any Atchievments in *Heroick* Poetry worth Recording. The Wits of the Age, soon left off such bold Adventures, and turned to other Veins, as if not worthy to sit down at the Feast, they contented themselves with the Scraps, with Songs and Sonnets, with Odes and Elegies, with Satyrs and Panegyricks, and what we call Copies of Verses upon any Subjects or Occasions, wanting either Genius or Application for Nobler or more Laborious Productions, as *Painters* that cannot Succeed

ceed in great Pieces, turn to Miniature.

But the modern Poets, to value this small Coyn, and make it pass, tho' of so much a baser Metal than the old, gave it a New Mixture from Two Veins, which were little known or little esteemed among the Ancients. There were indeed certain *Fairyes* in the old Regions of Poetry, called *Epigrams*, which seldom reached above the Stature of Two, or Four, or Six Lines, and which Being so short, were all turned upon Conceit, or some sharp Hits of Fancy or Wit. The only Ancient of this kind among the *Latins*, were the *Priapeia*, which were little Voluntaries or Extemporaries, Written upon the ridiculous Woodden Statues of *Priapus*, among the Gardens of *Rome*. In the decays of the *Roman* Learning and Wit as well as Language, *Martial*, *Ausonius*, and others fell into this Vein, and applied it indifferently to all Subjects, which was before Restrained to one, and Drest it something more cleanly than it was Born. This Vein of Conceit, seemed proper for such Scraps or Splinters, into which Poetry was broken, and was so eagerly followed, as almost to over-run all that was Composed in our several modern Languages; The *Italian*, the *French*, the

the *Spaniſh* as well as *Engliſh*, were for a great while full of nothing elſe but Conceit: It was an Ingredient, that gave Taſte to Compoſitions which had little of themſelves; 'twas a Sauce that gave Point to Meat that was Flat, and ſome Life to Colours that were Fading, and in ſhort, thoſe who could not furniſh Spirit, ſupplied it with this Salt, which may preſerve Things or Bodys that are Dead; but is, for ought I know, of little uſe to the Living, or neceſſary to Meats that have much or pleaſing Taſts of their own. However it were, this Vein firſt over-flowed our modern Poetry, and with ſo little Diſtinction or Judgment that we would have Conceit as well as Rhyme in every Two Lines, and run through all our long Scribbles as well as the ſhort, and the whole Body of the Poem, whatever it is: This was juſt as if a Building ſhould be nothing but Ornament, or Cloaths nothing but Trimming; as if a Face ſhould be covered over with black Patches, or a Gown with Spangles, which is all I ſhall ſay of it.

Another Vein which has entred and helpt to Corrupt our modern Poeſy, is that of Ridicule, as if nothing pleaſed but what made one Laugh, which yet come

from Two very different Affections of the Mind; for as Men have no Disposition to Laugh at things they are most pleased with, so they are very little pleased with many things they Laught at.

But this mistake is very general, and such modern Poets, as found no better way of pleasing, thought they could not fail of it, by Ridiculing. This was Encouraged by finding Conversation run so much into the same Vein, and the Wits in Vogue to take up with that Part of it, which was formerly left to those that were called Fools, and were used in great Families, only to make the Company Laugh. What Opinion the *Romans* had of this Character, appears in those Lines of *Horace*:

Absentem qui rodit amicum,
Qui non defendit alio culpante, solutos
Qui captat risus hominum famamq; dicacis
Fingere qui non visa potest, Commissa tacere
Qui nequit, Hic Niger est, Hunc tu Romane
caveto.

And 'tis pity the Character of a Wit, in one Age, should be so like that of a Black in another.

Rablais seems to have been Father of the Ridicule, a Man of Excellent and Universal

verſal Learning as well as Wit, and tho' he had too much Game given him for *Satyr* in that Age, by the Cuſtoms of Courts and of Convents, of Proceſſes and of Wars, of Schools and of Camps, of Romances and Legends; Yet he muſt be Confeſt to have kept up his Vein of Ridicule by ſaying many things ſo Malicious, ſo Smutty, and ſo Prophane, that either a Prudent, a Modeſt, or a Pious Man, could not have afforded, tho' he had never ſo much of that Coyn about him, and it were to be wiſhed, that the Wits who have followed his Vein, had not put too much Value upon a Dreſs, that better Underſtandings would not wear (at leaſt in publick) and upon a compaſs they gave themſelves, which other Men would not take. The Matchleſs Writer of *Don Quixot* is much more to be admired, for having made up ſo excellent a Compoſition of Satyr or Ridicule, without thoſe Ingredients, and ſeems to be the beſt and higheſt Strain that ever was, or will be reached by that Vein.

It began firſt in Verſe, with an *Italian* Poem, called *La Secchia Rapita*, was purſued by *Scarron* in *French* with his *Virgil* Traveſty, and in *Engliſh* by Sir *John Mince*, *Hudibras*, and *Cotton*, and

with greater height of *Burlesque* in the *English*, than I think in any other Language. But let the Execution be what it will, the Design, the Custom, and Example are very pernicious to *Poesy*, and indeed, to all Virtue and Good Qualities among Men, which must be disheartened, by finding how unjustly and undistinguish't they fall under the lash of Raillery, and this Vein of Ridiculing the Good as well as the Ill, the Guilty and the Innocent together. 'Tis a very poor, tho' common Pretence to merit, to make it appear by the Faults of other Men. A mean Wit or Beauty may pass in a Room, where the rest of the Company are allowed to have none; 'tis something to sparkle among Diamonds, but to shine among *Pebbles*, is neither Credit nor Value worth the pretending.

Besides, these two Veins brought in, to supply the Defects of the modern Poetry, much Application has been made to the smoothness of Language or Style, which has at the best, but the Beauty of Colouring in a Picture, & can never make a good one, without Spirit and Strength. The Academy set up by Cardinal *Richlieu*, to amuse the Wits of that Age and Country, and divert them from raking

raking into his Politicks and Ministery, brought this in Vogue, and the *French* Wits have for this last Age, been in a manner, wholly turned to the Refinement of their Language, and indeed with such Success, that it can hardly be excelled, and runs equally through their Verse and their Prose. The same Vein has been likewise much Cultivated in our modern *English* Poetry, and by such poor Recruits, have the broken Forces of this Empire been of late made up, with what Success I leave to be judged by such, as consider it in the former Heights, and the present Declines both of Power and of Honour, but this will not discourage, however it may affect, the true Lovers of this Mistriss, who must ever think her a Beauty in Rags as well as in Robes.

Among these many Decays, there is yet one sort of Poetry, that seems to have succeeded much better with our Moderns, than any of the rest, which is *Dramatick*, or that of the Stage: In this the *Italian*, the *Spanish*, and the *French*, have all had their different Merit, and received their just Applauses. Yet I am deceived, if our *English*, has not in some kind excelled both the Modern

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and the Antiqui, which has been by Force of a Vein Natural perhaps to our Country, and which with us, is called Humour, a Word peculiar to our Language too, and hard to be expressed in any other; nor is it (that I know of) found in any Foreign Writers, unless it be *Maliere*, and yet his it self, has too much of the Farce, to pass for the same with ours. *Shakespear* was the first that opened this Vein upon our Stage, which has run so freely and so pleasantly ever since, that I have often wondered, to find it appear so little upon any others; being a Subject so proper for them, since Humour is but a Picture of particular Life, as Comedy is of general; and tho' it represents Dispositions, and Customs less common, yet they are not less natural than those that are more frequent among Men; for if Humour it self be forced, it loses all the Grace, which has been indeed the Fault of some of our Poets most Celebrated in this kind.

It may seem a Defect in the antient Stage, that the Characters introduced were so few, and those so common, as a Covetous Old Man, an Amorous Young, a Witty Wench, a Crafty Slave, a Bragging

ging Soldier: The Spectators met nothing upon the Stage, but what they met in the Streets and at every Turn. All the Variety is drawn only from different and uncommon Events; whereas if the Characters are so too, the Diversity and the Pleasure must needs be the more. But as of most general Customs in a Contrary, there is usually some Ground, from the Nature of the People or the Clymat, so there may be amongst us, for this Vein of our Stage, and a greater variety of Humour in the Picture, because there is a greater variety in the Life. This may proceed from the Native Plenty of our Soyl, the unequalness of our Clymat, as well as the Mixture of our Government, and the Liberty of Professing Opinions and Fashions, which perhaps our Neighbours may have about them, but are forced to disguise, and thereby they may come in time to be extinguish't. Plenty begets Wantonness and Pride, Wantonness is apt to invent, and Pride scorns to Imitate; Liberty begets Stomach or Heart, and Stomach will not be Constrained. Thus we come to have more Originals, and more that appear what they are, we have more Humour because every Man follows his own, and takes a Pleasure, perhaps a Pride to shew it.

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On the contrary, where the People are generally poor, and forced to hard Labour, their Actions and Lives are all of a Piece; where they serve hard Masters, they must follow his Examples as well as Commands, and are forced upon Imitation in small Matters, as well as Obedience in great: So that some Nations look as if they were cast all by one Mould, or Cut out all by one Pattern, (at least the common People in one, and the Gentlemen in another): They seem all of a sort in their Habits, their Customs, and even their Talk and Conversation, as well as in the Application and Pursuit of their Actions and their Lives.

Besides all this, there is another sort of Variety amongst us, which arises from our Clymat, and the Dispositions it Naturally produces. We are not only more unlike one another, than any Nation I know, but we are more unlike our selves too, at several times, and owe to our very Air, some ill Qualities as well as many good: We may allow some Distempers Incident to our Clymat, since so much Health, Vigor and Length of Life have been generally Ascribed to it; for among the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors themselves, we shall find the *Britains* observed, to Live the longest, and the *Ægyptians*

Egyptians the shortest, of any Nations that were known in those Ages. Besides, I think none will Dispute the Native Courage of our Men, and Beauty of our Women, which may be elsewhere as great in Particulars, but no where so in General; they may be (what is said of Diseases) as Acute in other Places, but with us, they are Epidemical. For my own Part, who have Conversed much with Men of other Nations, and such as have been both in great Imployments and Esteem, I can say very impartially, that I have not observed among any, so much true Genius as among the *English*; No where more Sharpness of Wit, more Pleasantness of Humour, more Range of Fancy, more Penetration of Thought or Depth of Reflection among the better Sort: No where more Goodness of Nature and of Meaning, nor more Plainness of Sense and of Life than among the common Sort of Country People, nor more blunt Courage and Honesty, than among our Sea-men.

But with all this, our Country must be confest, to be what a great Foreign Physitian called it, The Region of Spleen, which may arise a good deal from the great uncertainty and many suddain Changes

Changes of our Weather in all Seasons of the Year: And how much these Affect the Heads and Hearts, especially of the finest Tempers, is hard to be Believed by Men, whose Thoughts are not turned to such Speculations. This makes us unequal in our Humours, inconstant in our Passions, uncertain in our Ends, and even in our Desires. Besides, our different Opinions in Religion and the Factions they have Raised or Animated, for Fifty Years past, have had an ill Effect upon our Manners and Customs, inducing more Avarice, Ambition, Disguise (with the usual Consequences of them) than were before in our Constitution. From all this it may happen that there is no where more true Zeal in the many different Forms of Devotion, and yet no where more Knavery under the Shews and Pretences. There are no where so many Disputers upon Religion, so many Reasoners upon Government, so many Refiners in Politicks, so many Curious Inquisitives, so many Pretenders to Business and State-Imployments, greater Porers upon Books, nor Plodders after Wealth. And yet no where more Abandoned Libertines, more Refined Luxurists,

urists, Extravagant Debauchees, Conceited Gallants, more Dabblers in Poetry as well as Politicks, in Philosophy and in Chymistry. I have had Frontal Servants sanguine in Divinity, others in Poetry, have known in the Families of some Friends, a Keeper deep in the *Hobbesian* Principles, and a Lawyer as firm in those of *Epicurus*. What Effect soever such a Composition or Medly of Humours among us may have upon our Lives or our Government, it must needs have a good one upon our Stage, and has given admirable Play to our Comical Wits. So that in my Opinion there is no Vein of that sort either Antient or Modern, which Excels or Equals the Humour of our Plays. And for the rest, I cannot but observe, the Honour of our Country, that the good Qualities amongst us, seem to be Natural, and the ill ones more Accidental, and such as would be easily Changed by the Examples of Princes, and by the Precepts of Laws; such I mean as should be Designed to Form Manners, to Restrain Excesses, to Encourage Industry, to Prevent Mens Expences beyond their Fortunes, to Countenance Virtue, and Raise that True Esteem due to Plain Sense and Common Honesty. But

But to Spin off this Thread which is already Grown too long: What Honour and Request the antient Poetry has Lived in, may not only be Observed from the Universal Reception and Use in all Nations from *China* to *Peru*, from *Scythia* to *Arabia*, but from the Esteem of the Best and the Greatest Men as well as the Vulgar. Among the *Hebrews*, *David* and *Solomon* the Wisest Kings, *Job* and *Jeremiah* the Holiest Men, were the best Poets of their Nation and Language. Among the *Greeks*, the Two most Renowned Sages and Law-givers were *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, whereof the Last is known to have excelled in Poetry, and the First was so great a Lover of it, That to his Care and Industry we are said (by some Authors) to owe the Collection and Preservation of the loose and scattered Pieces of *Homer*, in the Order wherein they have since appeared. *Alexander* is reported neither to have Travelled nor Slept, without those admirable Poems always in his Company. *Phalaris* that was Inexorable to all other Enemies, Relented at the Charms of *Stesichorus* his Muse. Among the *Romans*, the Last and Great *Scipio*, passed the soft Hours of his Life in the

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Converſation of *Terence*, and was thought to have a Part in the compoſition of his Comedies. *Ceſar* was an Excellent Poet as well as Orator, and Compoſed a Poem in his Voyage from *Rome* to *Spain*, Relieving the Tedious Difficulties of his March, with the Entertainments of his Muſe. *Auguſtus* was not only a Patron, but a Friend and Companion of *Virgil* and *Horace*, and was himſelf, both an Admirer of Poetry, and a pretender too, as far as his Genius would reach, or his buſy Scene allow. 'Tis true, ſince his Age, we have few ſuch Examples of great Princes favouring or affecting Poetry, and as few perhaps of great Poets deſerving it. Whether it be, that the fierceneſs of the *Gothick* Humors, or Noiſe of their perpetual Wars frighted it away, or that the unequal mixture of the Modern Languages would not bear it; Certain it is, That the great Heighths and Excellency both of Poetry and Muſick, fell with the *Roman* Learning and Empire; and have never ſince recovered the Admiration and Applauſes that before attended them. Yet ſuch as they are amongſt us, they muſt be confeſt to be the ſoftneſt and Sweeteſt, the moſt

General and most Innocent Amusements of common Time and Life. They still find Room in the Courts of Princes, and the Cottages of Shepherds. They serve to Revive and Animate the dead Calm of poor or idle Lives, and to Allay or Divert the violent Passions and Perturbations of the greatest and the busiest Men. And both these Effects are of equal use to Humane Life; for the Mind of Man is like the Sea, which is neither agreeable to the Beholder nor the Voyager, in a Calm or in a Storm, but is so to both, when a little Agitated by gentle Gales; and so the Mind, when moved by soft and easy Passions or Affections. I know very well, that many who pretend to be Wise, by the Forms of being Grave, are apt to despise both Poetry and Musick, as Toys and trifles too light for the Use or Entertainment of serious Men. But whoever find themselves wholly insensible to these Charms, would I think do well, to keep their own Counsel, for fear of Reproaching their own Temper, and bringing the Goodness of their Natures, if not of their Understandings, into Question: It may be thought at least an ill Sign, if not an ill

ill Conſtitution, ſince ſome of the Fathers went ſo far, as to eſteem the Love of Muſick a ſign of Predeſtination, as a thing Divine, and Reſerved for the Felicities of Heaven it ſelf. While this World laſts, I doubt not, but the Pleaſure and Requeſt of theſe Two Entertainments, will do ſo too, and happy thoſe that content themſelves with theſe or any other ſo Eaſy and ſo Innocent, and do not trouble the World or other Men, becauſe they cannot be quiet themſelves, though no body hurts them.

When all is done, Humane Life is at the greateſt and the beſt, but like a froward Child, that muſt be Play'd with, and Humor'd a little, to keep it quiet, till it falls aſleep, and then the Care is over.

FINIS.

I have heard that among works of Pope he was most fond of the Second Part of Sir Wm. Temple's Miscellanies.

Warton's Life of Pope.